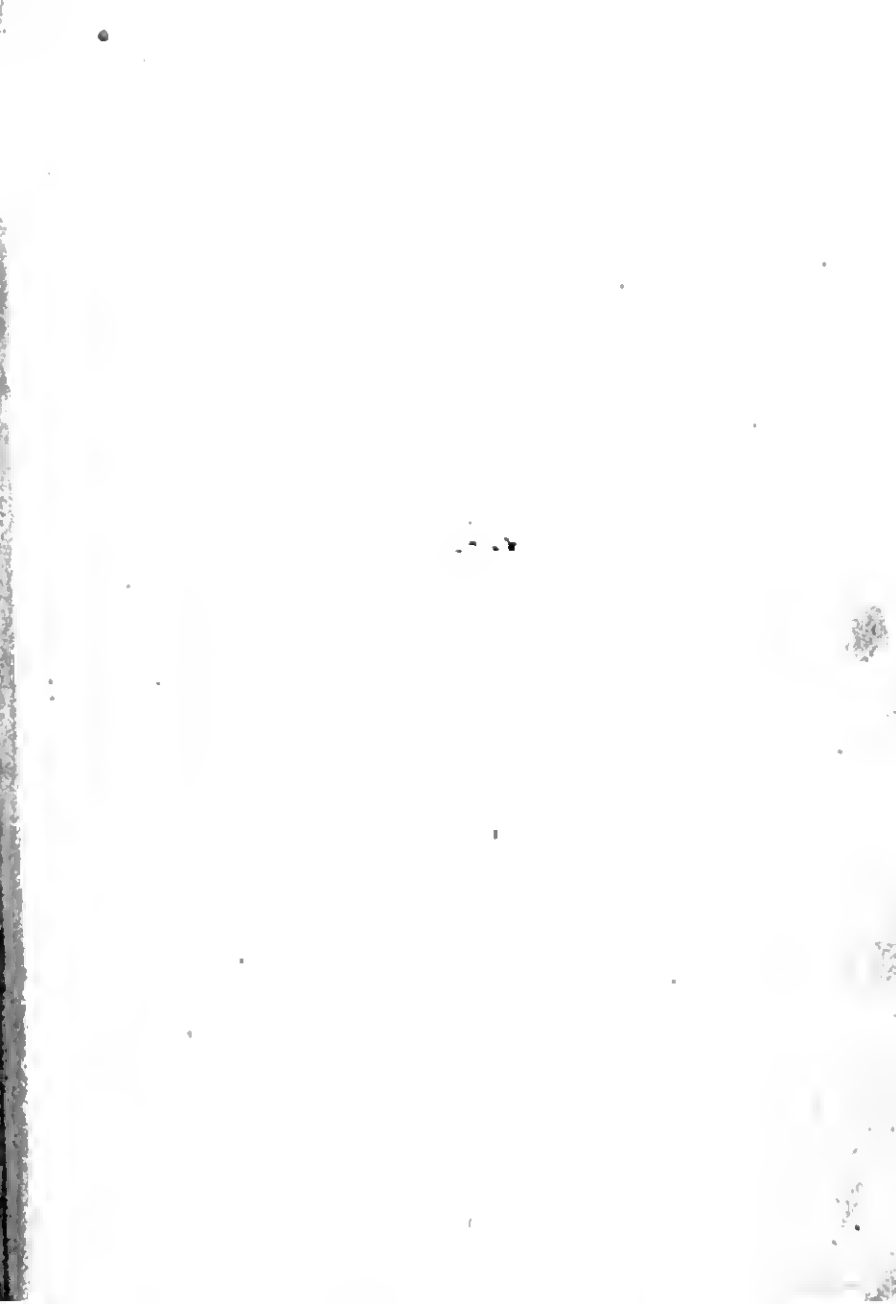


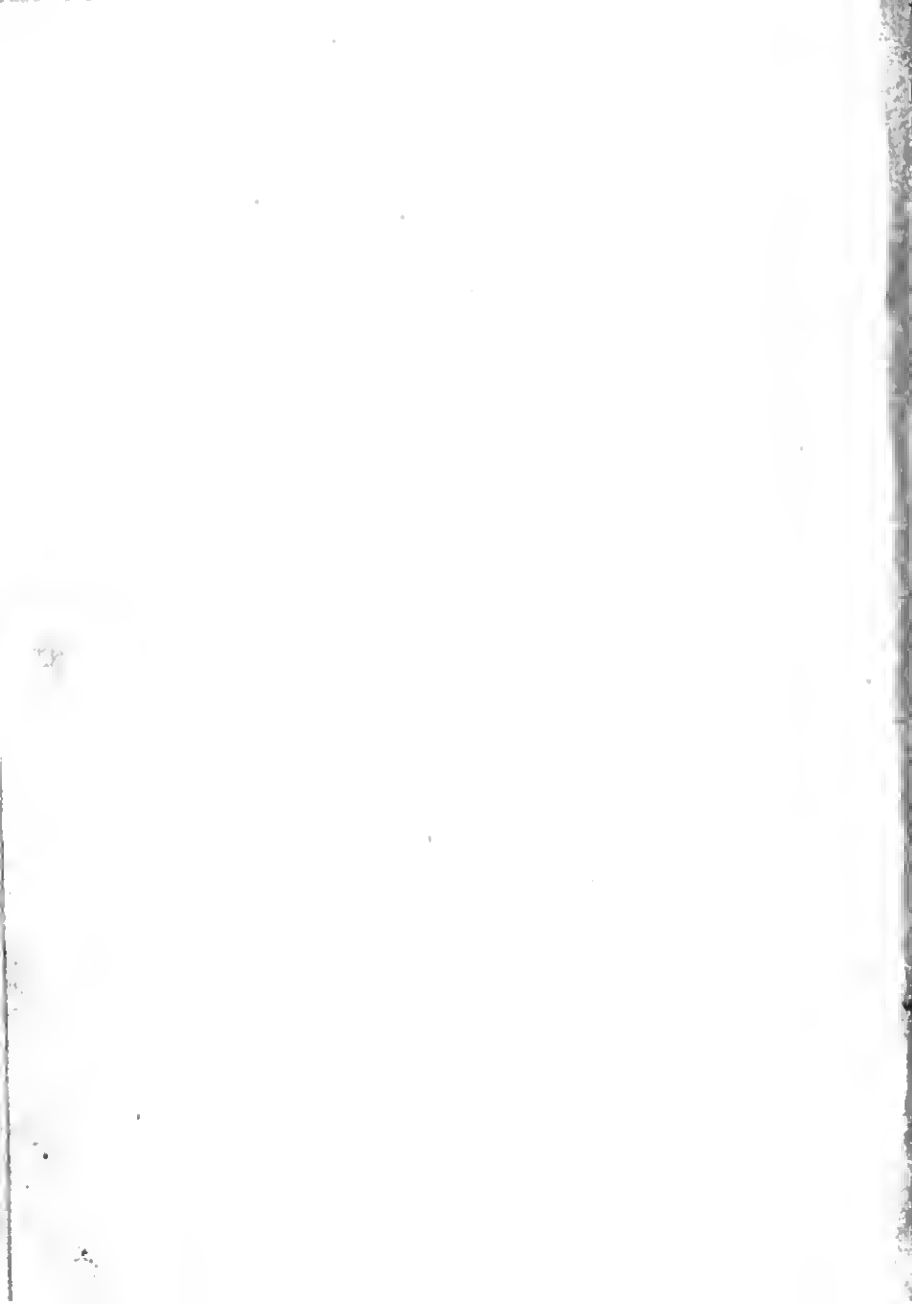
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INDIAN
SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS
ON BRITISH RULE

INDIAN SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH RULE 1821-1918

EDITED BY
J. K. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON),
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT, CALCUTTA.

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WITH A FOREWORD BY
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE, M.A.,
EDITOR, "THE MODERN REVIEW"



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CALCUTTA BOMBAY MADRAS
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PRINTED IN INDIA
AT THE CALCUTTA ORIENTAL PRESS, LTD.,
9, PANCHANAN GHOSE LANE,
CALCUTTA.

PREFACE

The idea of publishing this book occurred to me after seeing Prof. A. B. Keith's "Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy." Prof. Keith's book gives a selection of speeches and documents of eminent British Indian administrators and public men and brings into clear relief not only the fact of the enlightened policy consistently followed and upheld by the authorities since the establishment of the British rule in India for the amelioration of the condition of its benighted peoples, but also the trend of the exercise of British sovereignty to produce the political capacity among its people to render it possible to entrust them with self-government. My endeavour has been to gather together in one book a similar collection from the speeches and writings of eminent Indian leaders of thought and action since the dawn of Indian political consciousness. I have done this to show not only how many people appreciated and felt deeply grateful for what British rule had done for the country, but how it also provided grounds for their having higher hopes and aspirations, which are now in the process of fulfilment. That such a book is a desideratum and that it is also opportune no one, I think, will deny. The present generation of Indians seems to have forgotten the past, and the lesson of a fruitful century is apparently lost on many of them.

The political consciousness of India under British rule may be said to have dawned with the great Raja Rammohun Roy. He may be rightly called the poli-

tical *guru* of India. It was he who first preached his appreciation of the manifold blessings of an enlightened British rule and what it stood for, so that his countrymen might be cognisant of the new era ushered in by the coming of the British, and might demand for their own betterment the new rights and privileges guaranteed by the democratic British law and constitution. The Raja was the first Indian who was well acquainted with the principles of British law and constitution, and who could appreciate all that they stood for. The demand that he with the help of a few enlightened friends voiced for the legitimate political rights and privileges of his countrymen saw the birth of political consciousness in this country. Those who are acquainted with the Raja's political activities know how enthusiastic he was, but this enthusiasm, as is usual in a man with a sober and sagacious mind, was always tempered with moderation and practicality. It was also imbued with a sense of deep gratefulness befitting a great mind, which taught his countrymen to be loyal to the Throne from which such manifold blessings were derived. The ideas and thoughts of Rammohun have persisted to this day and have found utterance either in the Press or on the Platform, as well as in the deliberations of many political organisations. To a careful reader of the history of Indian political thought it cannot but seem striking how the ideas and sentiments of Rammohun have been echoed and re-echoed since his death. These have also been the predominating and guiding principles of the political thoughts and activities of the country. Events of the recent past have unfortunately given rise to some political happenings, and even the inauguration of a

big scheme of Reform and the appeal of a member of the Royal House, like the Duke of Connaught himself, to forgive and forget the past, did not check the tide of the extremist thought and action which existed in the country and had been accumulating strength for a long time past. The speeches and documents embodied in this book are a record of the feelings and sentiments of the people of the country preceding this period, which definitely took shape and became marked and predominant in the early part of 1919. Gandhi, the leader of this changed outlook, was, in the early part of his political life, imbued with the same sober ideas and sentiments as his predecessors, and I have thought fit to finish the book with a document which gives an idea of his former thoughts and views.

I cannot here discuss the political consequences of such extremist thought or action, but as it is viewed by the more sober and saner section of the people with doubt and diffidence, it would not be inopportune to place before my countrymen the views and sentiments of our predecessors, who have been instrumental in making India what it is to-day, and the grounds which they thought sufficient to guarantee the realisation of their hopes and aspirations raised by the Britishers themselves, in order that they may be able to take stock of things and be the better able to judge of their present thoughts and actions. The want of such a book has been long felt, and I shall feel my arduous labour amply repaid if it in any way benefits even a single individual.

I am very grateful to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the renowned Editor of the *Modern Review*, for kindly writing the Foreword. The materials of this book have

been collected mostly from the files of old contemporary papers preserved in the archives of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and I take this opportunity to tender my best thanks to Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah, the Librarian, Mr. Surendranath Coomar, the Superintendent, and to Mr. Manindralal Banerjee, for giving me every possible help and facility in my work. I also owe an expression of grateful thanks to Mr. H. C. Chatterjee, the Manager of Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., Calcutta, for going through the proofs of a large portion of the book and making some suggestions.

Bar Library, High Court,
Calcutta, December, 1936.

J. K. MAJUMDAR.

FOREWORD

The non-violent endeavours for the attainment of the political status to which India is justly entitled, which generally go by the name of constitutional agitation, had their origin more than a century ago. In modern times it was Rammohun Roy who first made such efforts. In these attempts made by him to obtain civic and political rights for his countrymen he had the support and co-operation of a small number of his contemporaries.

To the public in general he is best known as a religious and social reformer. To many he is known also as a litterateur and educationist. But perhaps he is not so well known as, in modern times, the pioneer in the work of political regeneration of his country.

All earnest attempts at reform, whether religious, social, political, or of any other description, are based on faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and of justice and humanity, which is synonymous with a belief in the moral government of the universe. This is an essential element in religious belief. One would, therefore, expect to find Rammohun Roy, the first all-round reformer in modern India, "above all and beneath all a religious personality." The driving power behind his political, as behind his religious and social activities, was his intense theistic passion.

His love of freedom led him irresistibly to undertake the work of political reform and regeneration. Mr. William Adam bears the following testimony to this

feature of his character: "He would be free or not be at all. He must breathe an atmosphere of freedom, and, not finding one ready made to his hand, he made one for himself.....Love of freedom was, perhaps, the strongest passion of his soul—freedom not of the body merely, but of the mind—freedom not of action merely, but of thought.....This love of freedom, so strikingly characteristic of the man,.....was a rational conviction springing from his belief in the noble purposes which a well-regulated and self-restrained liberty is capable of conferring on the individual and on society. He did not seek to limit the enjoyment of it to any class, or colour, or race, or nation, or religion. His sympathies embraced all mankind."

There are many incidents in his life showing that he rejoiced in the triumph of the cause of liberty and deplored its defeat, wherever either took place.

In the "Condition of India," described by him in the form of questions and answers, the following question and answer are to be found:—

"9Q. What capability of improvement do they (the people of India) possess?

"A. They have the same capability of improvement as any other civilised people."

From all this one cannot but conclude that he desired that his people should have in course of time a political status not inferior to that of any other people. This was apparent even to casual visitors who wanted to be acquainted with his political views. For example, on the 29th June, 1828, he said to M. Victor Jacquemont, the French naturalist, who has left his impressions of India in his *Voyage Dans L'Inde*:

"India requires many more years of English rule so that she might not have many things to lose *while she is reclaiming her political independence.*"

In this book Dr. Mejumdar has brought together selections from the political utterances of Rammohun Roy and many other workers of a later date. Dadabhai Naoroji is one of the most notable among them. He was the first Congress President who, in his presidential address in December 1906, first used the word *Svaraj* in the sense of a government like that of Great Britain or of its self-governing Colonies. It is hoped that a perusal of Dr. Majumdar's selections will lead many readers to study larger collections of the political utterances of those, some of whose views are to be found in this book. If this hope be fulfilled, Dr. Majumdar will have led many to study the evolution of political thought in India, which is necessary for students of Indian politics.

December 2, 1936.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE



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1. Extract from an article "On the Trial by Jury in India" published in the "Sungbaud Cowmuddee" or the "Moon of Intelligence" (December 11, 1821), the first Indian vernacular paper of note, and reputed to have belonged to Raja Ram Mohun Roy.

In cases of life and death, the Administration of Justice during the Mogul Empire in Bengal, was intrusted to One Individual, denominated Cazeer, according to whose sole will and pleasure, cases of such vital importance to the subject and to the state were adjudged. If a man ever so just, virtuous, and learned, and in the integrity of whose decision no one could find any fault, were to err through misconception and want of proper judgment, (and no human being is exempt from error, nor is it in the power of any to prevent it), injustice would be the natural consequence. How great, therefore, must have been the misery and suffering of the subjects of this country, when the Cazeers, the Administrators of Criminal and Civil Justice, were systematically rendering injustice, and wilfully corrupting the Law. From such intolerable hardship and oppression, we have, by the mercy and blessing of the Almighty God, been relieved, by being placed under the mild and equitable sway of the Rule of England, since the establishment of which Government in this Country, we have been enjoying every happiness without the least obstruction, having the protection of our persons and property perfectly secured to us.

Among all the meritorious Institutions of the British Constitution, that of the adjudication of Criminal cases by Twelve disinterested, honest and intelligent men, or in other words "Trial By Jury", is a source of infinite satisfaction to those who have the good fortune to reside in the Metropolis of India. In addition to this, there is another source of equal or perhaps greater happiness, which has been established by our present Ruler, The Most Noble Francis Marquess of Hastings, the glorious removal of the Restrictions with which the Press had been heretofore fettered. Although it is impossible for us to do sufficient justice to this great and admirable measure of His Lordship, yet to convey, in some faint degree, the glory and magnanimity of the act, we will venture to compare it with the state of the Dumb, who, notwithstanding all his exertions and efforts, is not able to give utterance to his Speech, which ascends to the palate, and there falters,—but when the impediment in the Organ of his Speech is removed, by the Treatment of some skilful Physician, he becomes overjoyed beyond expression. We have, in like manner, been gratified at having this Boon (the Freedom of the Press), granted to us by the Noble Marquis, to bestow adequate praise on which is impossible; for all the languages of the Earth could not sufficiently laud the act which will immortalize His Lordship's name throughout the Eastern Regions.

We have felt the highest gratification in being apprized by some English Gentlemen, of the circumstance of the Natives of Ceylon being now permitted to sit as Juries on the Trial of their Countrymen; and we feel encouraged therefore, most respectfully and

earnestly to solicit confidently trusting that the boldness of such solicitation may be forgiven), that our present merciful Governor (whose constant endeavour has been to promote the comfort and happiness of his Indian subjects) may be graciously pleased to extend to us the same benefit, in the Mofussul, Provincial, and Zillah Courts of Judicature; a Boon that would very much tend to the augmentation of our happiness.

2. Prospectus of the "Mirat-ool-Ukhbar" or the "Mirror of Intelligence" (No. 1, 1822), the first Indian Persian paper of note, said to be owned and edited by Raja Rammohun Roy.

Thanks be to God, that in these days the inhabitants of Calcutta enjoy under the Government of the English nation, that freedom and security which is considered by rational and social beings as the grand object of all civil and religious institutions. Numerous measures are adopted for the protection of persons and property: the rules for administering justice and awarding punishment which they have established in this city, agreeable to the Laws of England, have secured the full enjoyment of liberty and prevented licentiousness; so that the lowest individual in demanding his rights, stands upon an equal footing with the great, nay, even with the high personage at the head of the Government. Every person is entitled to express his own sentiments, and to give an account of the conduct of others in such a manner as not to be injurious to them.

Under these circumstances some Gentlemen of this nation publish in the English language, the news of this and other countries, for the improvement of the Public at large; and those acquainted with that language

profit generally by these Papers, receiving intelligence from all quarters, notwithstanding their particular local situations. But as the English language is not understood in all parts of India, those unacquainted with it must either have recourse to others in their enquiries after information, or remain totally uninformed. On this account, I, the humblest of the human race, am desirous of publishing a Weekly Newspaper, written in the Persian language, which is understood by all the respectable part of the Native Community, and am ready to distribute it to all who may be so inclined.

I solemnly protest that it is not my object to make this Paper the channel of exaggerated praise to the great, or to my own friends, that I may hereby meet with favor and promotion; nor is it my intention in this my Editorial capacity to permit unmerited blame or reproach to be cast upon others. On the contrary, I shall have a due regard for truth and for the rank of persons in authority, and in composing every sentence, keeping in view the saying of the Poet, that—"The wounds of the spear may be healed, but a wound inflicted by the tongue is incurable"—I shall guard against any expression that might tend to hurt the feelings of any individual.

In short, in taking upon myself to edit this Paper, my only object is, that I may lay before the Public such articles of Intelligence as may encrease their experience, and tend to their social improvement; and that to the extent of my abilities, I may communicate to the Rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects, and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their Rulers: that the

Rulers may the more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people; and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their Rulers.

3. Memorial to the Supreme Court in Calcutta against the Press Ordinance passed by the Acting Governor-General in Council in 1823, over the signature of six respectable Bengalee gentlemen, and of which Raja Remmohun Roy is reputed to have been the inspirer and leader.

To

The Honourable Sir Francis MacNaghten,
Sole Acting Judge of the Supreme Court of
Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

My Lord,

In consequence of the late Rule and Ordinance passed by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, regarding the Publication of Periodical Works, your Memorialists consider themselves called upon with due submission, to represent to you their feelings and sentiments on the subject.

Your Memorialists beg leave, in the first place, to bring to the notice of your Lordship, various proofs given by the Natives of this country of their unshaken loyalty to, and unlimited confidence in the British Government of India, which may remove from your mind any apprehension of the Government being brought into hatred and contempt, or of the peace, harmony, and good order of society in this country, being liable to be interrupted and destroyed, as implied in the preamble of the above Rule and Ordinance.

First. Your Lordship is well aware, that the Natives of Calcutta and its vicinity, have voluntarily entrusted Government with millions of their wealth, without indicating the least suspicion of its stability and good faith, and reposing in the sanguine hope that their property being so secured, their interests will be as permanent as the British Power itself; while on the contrary, their fathers were invariably compelled to conceal their treasures in the bowels of the earth, in order to preserve them from the insatiable rapacity of their oppressive Rulers.

Secondly. Placing entire reliance on the promise made by the British Government at the time of the Perpetual Settlement of the landed property in this part of India, in 1793, the Landholders have since, by constantly improving their estates, been able to increase their produce, in general very considerably; whereas, prior to that period, and under former Governments, their forefathers were obliged to lay waste the greater part of their estates, in order to make them appear of inferior value, that they might not excite the cupidity of Government, and thus cause their rents to be increased or themselves to be dispossessed of their lands, —a pernicious practice which often incapacitated the landholders from discharging even their stipulated revenue to Government, and reduced their families to poverty.

Thirdly. During the last wars which the British Government were obliged to undertake against neighbouring Powers, it is well known, that the great body of Natives of wealth and respectability, as well as the Landholders of consequence, offered up regular prayers

to the objects of their worship for the success of the British arms from a deep conviction that under the sway of that nation, their improvement, both mental and social, would be promoted, and their lives, religion, and property be secured. Actuated by such feelings, even in those critical times, which are the best test of the loyalty of the subject, they voluntarily came forward with a large portion of their property to enable the British Government to carry into effect the measures necessary for its own defence, considering the cause of the British as their own, and firmly believing that on its success, their own happiness and prosperity depended.

Fourthly. It is manifest as the light of day, that the general subjects of observation and the constant and the familiar topic of discourse among the Hindu community of Bengal, are the literary and political improvements which are continually going on in the state of the country under the present system of Government, and a comparison between their present auspicious prospects and their hopeless condition under their former Rulers.

Under these circumstances, your Lordship cannot fail to be impressed with a full conviction, that whoever charges the Natives of this country with disloyalty, or insinuates ought to the prejudice of their fidelity and attachment to the British Government, must either be totally ignorant of the affairs of this country and the feelings and sentiments of its inhabitants, as above stated, or on the contrary, be desirous of misrepresenting the people and misleading the Government, both here and in England, for unworthy purposes of his own.

Your Memorialists must confess, that these feelings of loyalty and attachment, of which the most unequivocal proofs stand on record, have been produced by the wisdom and liberality displayed by the British Government in the means adopted for the gradual improvement of their social and domestic condition, by the establishment of Colleges, Schools, and other beneficial institutions in this city, among which the creation of a British Court of Judicature for the more effectual administration of Justice, deserves to be gratefully remembered.

A proof of the Natives of India being more and more attached to the British Rule in proportion as they experience from it the blessings of just and liberal treatment, is, that the Inhabitants of Calcutta, who enjoy in many respects very superior privileges to those of their fellow-subjects in other parts of the country, are known to be in like measure more warmly devoted to the existing Government; nor is it at all wonderful they should in loyalty be not at all inferior to British-born Subjects, since they feel assured of the possession of the same civil and religious liberty, which is enjoyed in England, without being subjected to such heavy taxation as presses upon the people there.

Hence the population of Calcutta, as well as the value of land in this City, have rapidly increased of late years, notwithstanding the high rents of houses and the dearness of all the necessaries of life compared with other parts of the country, as well as the Inhabitants being subjected to additional taxes, and also liable to the heavy costs necessarily incurred in case of suite before the Supreme Court.

Your Lordship may have learned from the works of the Christian Missionaries, and also from other sources, that ever since the art of printing has become generally known among the Natives of Calcutta, numerous Publications have been circulated in the Bengalee Language, which by introducing free discussion among the Natives and inducing them to reflect and inquire after knowledge, have already served greatly to improve their minds and ameliorating their condition. This desirable object has been chiefly promoted by the establishment of four Native Newspapers, two in the Bengalee and two in the Persian Language, published for the purpose of communicating to those residing in the interior of the country, accounts of whatever occurs worthy of notice at the Presidency or in the country, and also the interesting and valuable intelligence of what is passing in England and in other parts of the world, conveyed through the English Newspapers or other channels.

Your Memorielists are unable to discover any disturbance of the peace, harmony, and good order of society, that has arisen from the English Press, the influence of which must necessarily be confined to that part of the community who understand the language thoroughly; but they are quite confident, that the publications in the Native Languages, whether in the shape of a Newspaper or any other work, have none of them been calculated to bring the Government of the country into hatred and contempt, and that they have not proved, as far as can be ascertained by the strictest inquiry, in the slightest degree injurious; which has very lately been acknowledged in one of the most

respectable English Missionary works. So far from obtruding upon Government groundless representations, Native Authors and Editors have always restrained themselves from publishing even such facts respecting the judicial proceedings in the Interior of the country as they thought were likely at first view to be obnoxious to Government.

While your Memorialists were indulging the hope that Government, from a conviction of the manifold advantages of being put in possession of full and impartial information regarding what is passing in all parts of the Country, would encourage the establishment of Newspapers in the cities and districts under the special patronage and protection of Government, that they might furnish the Supreme Authorities in Calcutta with an accurate account of local occurrences and reports of Judicial proceedings,—they have the misfortune to observe, that on the contrary, his Excellency the Governor-General in Council has lately promulgated a Rule and Ordinance imposing severe restraints on the Press and prohibiting all Periodical Publications even at the Presidency and in the Native Languages, unless sanctioned by a License from Government, which is to be revocable at pleasure whenever it shall appear to Government that a publication has contained anything of an unsuitable character.

Those Natives who are in more favourable circumstances and of respectable character, have such an invincible prejudice against making a voluntary affidavit, or undergoing the solemnities of an oath, that they will never think of establishing a publication which can only be supported by a series of oaths and affidavits,

abhorrent to their feelings and derogatory to their reputation amongst their countrymen.

After this Rule and Ordinance shall have been carried into execution, your Memorialists are therefore extremely sorry to observe, that a complete stop will be put to the diffusion of knowledge and the consequent mental improvement now going on, either by translations into the popular dialect of this country from the learned languages of the East, or by the circulation of literary intelligence drawn from foreign publications. And the same cause will also prevent those Natives who are better versed in the laws and customs of the British Nation, from communicating to their fellow-subjects a knowledge of the admirable system of Government established by the British, and the peculiar excellencies of the means they have adopted for the strict and impartial administration of justice. Another evil of equal importance in the eyes of a just Ruler, is, that it will also preclude the Natives from making the Government readily acquainted with the errors and injustice that may be committed by its executive officers in the various parts of this extensive country; and it will also preclude the Natives from communicating frankly and honestly to their Gracious Sovereign in England and his Council, the real condition of His Majesty's faithful subjects in this distant part of his dominions and the treatment they experience from the local Government: since such information cannot in future be conveyed to England, as it has heretofore been, either by the translations from the Native publications inserted in the English Newspapers printed here and sent to Europe, or by the English publications

which the Natives themselves had in contemplation to establish, before this Rule and Ordinance was proposed.

After this sudden deprivation of one of the most precious of their rights, which has been freely allowed them since the Establishment of the British Power, a right which they are not, and cannot be charged with having ever abused, the inhabitants of Calcutta would be no longer justified in boasting, that they are fortunately placed by Providence under the protection of the whole British Nation, or that the King of England and his Lords and Commons are their Legislators, and that they are secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges that every Briton is entitled to in England.

Your Memorialists are persuaded that the British Government is not disposed to adopt the political maxim so often acted upon by Asiatic Princes, that the more a people are kept in darkness, their Rulers will derive the greater advantages from them; since, by reference to History, it is found that this was but a short-sighted policy which did not ultimately answer the purpose of its authors. On the contrary, it rather proved disadvantageous to them; for we find that as often as an ignorant people, when an opportunity offered, have revolted against their Rulers, all sorts of barbarous excesses and cruelties have been the consequence; whereas a people naturally disposed to peace and ease, when placed under a good Government from which the experience just and liberal treatment, must become the more attached to it, in proportion as they become enlightened and the great body of the people are taught to appreciate the value of the blessings they enjoy under its Rule.

Every good Ruler, who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the world, must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and therefore he will be anxious to afford every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestrained Liberty of Publication, is the only effectual means that can be employed. And should it ever be abused, the established Law of the Land is very properly armed with sufficient powers to punish those who may be found guilty of misrepresenting the conduct or character of Government, which are effectually guarded by the same Laws to which individuals must look for protection of their reputation and good name.

Your Memorialists conclude by humbly entreating your Lordship to take this Memorial into your gracious consideration; and that you will be pleased by not registering the above Rule and Ordinance, to permit the Natives of this country to continue in possession of the civil rights and privileges which they and their fathers have so long enjoyed under the auspices of the British nation, whose kindness and confidence, they are not aware of having done anything, to forfeit.

(Sd) Chunder Coomar Tagore
Dwarka Nauth Tagore
Ram Mohun Roy
Hurchunder Ghose
Gowree Churn Bonnergee
Prosunno Coomar Tagore.

4. Extract from Memorial to the King in Council against the Press Ordinances referred to above (1823) by the same party.

To 'The King's Most Excelleat Majesty.

May It Please Your Majesty,

We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, Natives of India and inhabitants of Calcutta, being placed by Providence under the sovereign care and protection of the august head of the British nation, look up to your Majesty as the guardian of our lives, property, and religion, and when our rights are invaded and our prayers disregarded by the subordinate authorities, we beg leave to carry our complaints before your Majesty's throne, which is happily established in mercy and justice, amidst a generous people celebrated throughout the earth as the enemies of tyranny, and distinguished under your royal auspices, as the successful defenders of Europe from Continental usurpation.

2nd. We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, now come before you under the most painful circumstances, the local executive authorities having suddenly assumed the power of legislation in matters of the highest moment, and abolished legal privileges of long standing, without the least pretence that we have ever abused them, and made an invasion on our civil rights such as is unprecedented in the History of British Rule in Bengal, by a measure which either indicates a total disregard of the civil rights and privileges of your Majesty's faithful subjects, or an intention to encourage a cruel and unfounded suspicion of our attachment to the existing Government.

3rd. The greater part of Hindustan having been for several centuries subject to Muhammadan Rule, the civil and religious rights of its original inhabitants were constantly trampled upon, and from the habitual oppression of the conquerors, a great body of their subjects in the southern Peninsula (Dukhin), afterwards called Marhattas, and another body in the western parts now styled Sikhs, were at last driven to revolt; and when the Mussulman power became feeble, they ultimately succeeded in establishing their independence; but the Natives of Bengal wanting vigor of body, and adverse to active exertion, remained during the whole period of the Muhammadan conquest, faithful to the existing Government, although their property was often plundered, their religion insulted, and their blood wantonly shed. Divine Providence at last, in its abundant mercy, stirred up the English nation to break the yoke of those tyrants, and to receive the oppressed Natives of Bengal under its protection. Having made Calcutta the capital of their dominions, the English distinguished this city by such peculiar marks of favour, as a free people would be expected to bestow, in establishing an English Court of Judicature, and granting to all within its jurisdiction, the same civil rights as every Briton enjoys in his native country; thus putting the Natives of India in possession of such privileges as their forefathers never expected to attain, even under Hindu Rulers. Considering these things and bearing in mind also the solicitude for the welfare of this country, uniformly expressed by the Honourable East India Company, under whose immediate control we are placed, and also by the Supreme Councils of the British nation, your dutiful

subjects consequently have not viewed the English as a body of conquerors, but rather as deliverers, and look up to your Majesty not only as a Ruler, but also as a father and protector.

4th. Since the establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Calcutta till the present time, a period that has been distinguished by every variety of circumstances, the country sometimes reposing in the bosom of profound peace, at others shaken with the din of arms—the local Government of Bengal, although composed from time to time, of men of every shade of character and opinion, never attempted of its own will and pleasure to take away any of the rights which your Majesty's royal ancestors with the consent of their Councils, had been graciously pleased to confer on your faithful subjects. Under the cheering influence of equitable and indulgent treatment, and stimulated by the example of a people famed for their wisdom and liberality, the Native of India, with the means of amelioration set before them, have been gradually advancing in social and intellectual improvement. In their conduct and in their writings, whether periodical or otherwise, they have never failed to manifest all becoming respect to a Government fraught with such blessings; of which their own publications and the judgment passed upon them by the works of their contemporaries, are the best proofs. Your faithful subjects beg leave in support of this statement to submit two extracts from English works very lately published, one by a Native of India, and the other by English Missionaries; the first is from a work published on the 30th of January last, by Rammohun Roy, entitled "a Final

Appeal to the Christian Public," which may serve as a specimea of the sentiments expressed by the Natives of India towards the Government.

"I now conclude my Essay in offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country, from the long continued tyranny of its former Rulers, and placed it under the Government of the English, a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves, in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends."—Pages 378, 379.

5th. The second extract is from a periodical work published at the Danish settlement of Serampore, by a body of English Missionaries, who are known to be generally the best qualified and the most careful observers of the foreign countries in which Europeans have settled. This work, entitled the "Friend of India," treating of the Native Newspapers published in Bengal, thus observes: "How necessary a step this (the establishment of a Native Press) was for the amelioration of the condition of the Natives, no person can be ignorant who has traced the effects of the Press in other countries. The Natives themselves soon availed themselves of this privilege; no less than four Weekly Newspapers in the Native language have now been established, and there are hopes, that these efforts will contribute essentially to arouse the Native mind from its long lethargy of death; and while it excites them to inquire into what is going forward in a world, of which Asia forms so important a portion, urge them to ascertain their own situation

respecting that eternal world, which really communicates all the vigour and interest now so visible in Europeans. *Nor has this liberty been abused by them in the least degree*; yet these vehicles of intelligence have begun to be called for, from the very extremities of British India, and the talents of the Natives themselves, have not unfrequently been exerted in the production of Essays, that would have done credit to our own countrymen".—(*Friend of India*, quarterly series, No. VII, published in December, 1822.)

24th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects will not offer any more particular remarks on the superfluous Restrictions introduced to accompany those more important ones which are the principal object of Government, and will conclude with this general observation, that they are unnecessary, either because the offences prohibited are imaginary and improbable, or because they are already provided for by the Laws of the Land, and either the Government does not intend to put them in force at all, or it is anxious to interrupt the regular course of justice, abolish the right of Trial by Jury and, by taking the Law into its own hands, to combine the Legislative and Judicial power, which is destructive of all Civil Liberty.

25th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects have heard that, Your Majesty constantly submits to the greatest freedom of remark among your British-born subjects without losing any part of the homage and respect due to your exalted character and station, and that the conduct of your Ministers is constantly the topic of discussion, without destroying the dignity and power of the Government. While such is the case in a country where it is said above nine-tenths of the Inhabitants read news-

papers, and are therefore liable to be led by the opinions circulated through the Press, its capability of bringing a Government into hatred and contempt must be far less in a country where the great mass of the population do not read at all, and have the greatest reverence for men in power, of whom they can only judge by what they feel, and are not to be moved by what is written, but by what is done, where consequently Government can only be brought into hatred and contempt by its own acts.

26th. The Marquis of Hastings, who had associated for the greater part of his life, with Kings and Princes, entertained no apprehension that the salutary control of public scrutiny which he commended, would bring him or his Indian administration into hatred and contempt; and in effect, instead of such being the result, the greater the freedom he allowed to the European conductors of the Press, only rendered his name the most honored and revered in this part of the world, because it was universally believed, that his conduct proceeded from a consciousness of rectitude which feared no investigation.

27th. But your faithful subjects might forbear urging further arguments on this subject to your Majesty, who with your actions open to observation, possess the love, the esteem, and the respect of mankind, in a degree which none of the despotic Monarchs of Europe or Asia can ever attain, whose subjects are prohibited from examining and expressing their opinions regarding their conduct.

28th. Asia unfortunately affords few instances of Princes who have submitted their actions to the judgment of their subjects, but those who have done so, instead of falling into hatred and contempt, were the more

loved and respected, while they lived, and their memory is still cherished by posterity; whereas more despotic Monarchs, pursued by hatred in their lifetime, could with difficulty escape the attempts of the rebel or the assassin, and their names are either detested or forgotten.

29th. The idea of the possession of absolute power and perfection, is evidently not necessary to the stability of the British Government of India, since your Majesty's faithful subjects are accustomed to see private individuals citing the Government before the Supreme Court, where the justice of their acts is fearlessly impugned, and after the necessary evidence being produced and due investigation made, judgment not unfrequently given against the Government, the judge not feeling himself restrained from passing just sentence by any fear of the Government being thereby brought into contempt. And your Majesty's faithful subjects only pray, that it may be permitted by means of the Press or by some other means equally effectual, to bring forward evidence regarding the acts of Government which affect the general interest of the community, that they also may be investigated and reversed, when those who have the power of doing so, become convinced that they are improper or injurious.

30th. A Government conscious of rectitude of intention, cannot be afraid of public scrutiny by means of the Press, since this instrument can be equally well employed as a weapon of defence, and a Government possessed of immense patronage, is more especially secure, since the greater part of the learning and talent in the country being already enlisted in the service, its actions,

if they have any shadow of Justice, are sure of being ably and successfully defended.

31st. Men in power hostile to the Liberty of the Press, which is a disagreeable check upon their conduct, when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence, have attempted to make the world imagine, that it might, in some possible contingency, afford the means of combination against the Government, but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures which in ordinary times are totally unjustifiable, your Majesty is well aware, that a Free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because, while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the supreme Government, and thus get them redressed, the grounds of discontent that excite revolution are removed ; whereas, where no freedom of the Press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredressed, innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe, or if prevented by the armed force of the Government, the people continued ready for insurrection.

32nd. The servants of the Honourable Company are necessarily firmly attached to that system from which they derive their consequence and power, and on which their hopes of higher honours and still greater emoluments depend ; and if it be possible to imagine, that these strong considerations are not sufficient to preserve subordination among them, the power of suspension and ruin which hangs over their heads for any deviation from duty, is certainly sufficient to secure that object.

33rd. After the British Government has existed for so many years, it has acquired a certain standard character in the minds of the natives of India, from the many excellent men who have from time to time held the reins of power, and the principles by which they have been guided. Whatever opinion, therefore, may be entertained of the individuals composing it at a particular period, while the source of power remains the same, your Majesty's faithful subjects cannot of a sudden lose confidence in the virtue of the stream, since although it may for a period be tainted with corruption, yet in the natural course of events it must soon resume its accustomed character. Should individuals abuse the power entrusted to them, public resentment cannot be transferred from the delinquents to the Government itself, while there is a prospect of remedy from the higher authorities; and should the highest in this country turn a deaf ear to all complaint, by forbidding grievances to be even mentioned, the spirit of loyalty is still kept alive by the hope of redress from the authorities in England; thus the attachment of the Natives of India, to the British Government must be as permanent as their confidence in the honour and Justice of the British nation, which is their last Court of Appeal next to Heaven. But if they be prevented from making their real condition known in England, deprived of this hope of redress, they will consider the most peculiar excellence of the British Government of India, as done away.

34th. If these conclusions drawn from the particular circumstances of this country, be met with such an argument as that a colony or distant dependency can never safely be entrusted with the Liberty of the Press,

and that therefore Natives of Bengal cannot be allowed to exercise the privileges they have so long enjoyed, this would be in other words to tell them, that they are condemned to perpetual oppression and degradation, from which they can have no hope of being raised during the existence of the British Power.

35th. The British nation has never yet descended to avow a principle so foreign to their character, and if they could for a moment entertain the idea of preserving their power by keeping their colonies in ignorance, the prohibition of periodical publications is not enough, but printing of all kinds, education, and every other means of diffusing knowledge should be equally discouraged and put down. For it must be the distant consequences of the diffusion of knowledge that are dreaded by those (if there be any such) who are really apprehensive for the stability of Government, since it is well known to all in the least acquainted with this country, that although every effort were made by periodical as well as other publications, a great number of years must elapse before any considerable change can be made in the existing habits and opinions of the Natives of India, so firmly are they wedded to established custom. Should apprehensions so unworthy of the English nation prevail, then unlike the ancient Romans who extended their knowledge and civilization with their conquests, ignorance and degradation must mark the extent of British Power. Yet surely even this affords no hope of perpetual rule, since notwithstanding the tyranny and oppression of Gengis Khan and Tamerlane, their empire was not so lasting as that of the Romans, who to the proud title of conquerors, added the more glorious one of Enlighteners of the

World. And of the two most renowned and powerful monarchs among the Moghuls, Akbar was celebrated for his clemency, for his encouragement of learning, and for granting civil and religious liberty to his subjects, and Aurungzebe, for his cruelty and intolerance, yet the former reigned happy, extended his power and his dominions, and his memory is still adored, whereas the other, though endowed with equal abilities and possessed of equal power and enterprize, met with many reverses and misfortunes during his lifetime, and his name is now held in abhorrence.

36th. It is well known that despotic Governments naturally desire the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloquy which ever attends the exercise of tyranny or oppression, and the argument they constantly resort to, is, that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since, as a people become enlightened, they will discover that by a unity of effort, the many may easily shake off the yoke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether, forgetting the lesson derived from history, that in countries which have made the smallest advances in civilization, anarchy and revolution are most prevalent—while on the other hand, in nations the most enlightened, any revolt against governments which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is most rare, and that the resistance of a people advanced in knowledge, has ever been—not against the existence,—but against the abuses of the Governing power. Canada, during the late war with America, afforded a memorable instance of the truth of this argument. The enlightened inhabit-

ants of that colony, finding that their rights and privileges had been secured to them, their complaints listened to, and their grievances redressed by the British Government, resisted every attempt of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance to it. In fact, it may be fearlessly averred, that the more enlightened a people become, the less likely are they to revolt against the governing power, as long as it is exercised with justice tempered with mercy, and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion.

43rd. The abolition of this most precious of their privileges, is the more appalling to your Majesty's faithful subjects, because it is a violent infringement of their civil and religious rights, which under the British Government, they hoped would be always secure. Your Majesty is aware, that under their former Muhammadan Rulers, the natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussulmans, being eligible to the highest offices in the state, entrusted with the command of armies and the government of provinces and often chosen as advisers to their Prince, without disqualification or degrading distinction on account of their religion or the place of their birth. They used to receive free grants of land exempted from any payments of revenue, and besides the highest salaries allowed under the Government, they enjoyed free of charge, large tracts of country attached to certain offices of trust and dignity, while natives of learning and talent were rewarded with numerous situations of honour and emolument. Although under the British Rule, the natives of India, have entirely lost this political consequence, your Majesty's faithful subjects were consoled by the more

secure enjoyment of those civil and religious rights which had been so often violated; and notwithstanding the loss of political rank and power, they considered themselves much happier in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty than were their ancestors; but if these rights that remain are allowed to be unceremoniously invaded, the most valuable of them being placed at the mercy of one or two individuals, the basis on which they have founded their hopes of comfort and happiness under the British Power, will be destroyed.

44th. Your Majesty has been pleased to place this part of your dominions under the immediate control of the Court of Directors, and this Honourable Body have committed the entire management of this country (Calcutta excepted) to a number of gentlemen styled Civil Servants, usually under the superintendence of a Governor-General. These gentlemen who are entrusted with the whole administration, consist of three classes; First, subordinate local officers, such as Judges of Districts, Magistrates, Collectors and commercial agents; Secondly, officers superior to them as Judges of Circuit, and Members of different Revenue and Commercial Boards, &c. Thirdly, those who fill the highest and most important offices, as Judges of the Sudder Dewany Adalat, Secretaries to Government, the Members of the Supreme Council, and sometimes a Civil Servant may rise to the highest office of Governor General of India. In former times, native fathers were anxious to educate their children according to the usages of those days, in order to qualify them for such offices under government as they might reasonably hope to obtain; and young men had the most powerful motives for sedulously cultivating

their minds, in the laudable ambition of rising by their merits to an honourable rank in society; whereas, under the present system, so trifling are the rewards held out to native talent, that hardly any stimulus to intellectual improvement remains; yet, your Majesty's faithful subjects felt confident, that notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the natives of India would not sink into absolute mental lethargy while allowed to aspire to distinction in the world of letters, and to exercise the liberty of the Press for their moral and intellectual improvement, which are far more valuable than the acquisition of riches or any other temporal advantages under arbitrary power.

50th. Notwithstanding the despotic power of the Moghul Princes who formerly ruled over this country, and that their conduct was often cruel and arbitrary, yet the wise and virtuous among them, always employed two intelligencers at the residence of their Nawabs or Lord Lieutenants, *Akhbar-navees*, or news-writer who published an account of whatever happened, and a *Khoofea-navees*, or confidential correspondent, who sent a private and particular account of every occurrence worthy of notice; and although these Lord Lieutenants were often particular friends or near relations to the Prince, he did not trust entirely to themselves for a faithful and impartial report of their administration, and degraded them when they appeared to deserve it, either for their own faults or for their negligence in not checking the delinquencies of their subordinate officers; which shews that even the Moghul Princes, although their form of Government admitted of nothing better, were convinced, that in a country so rich and so replete with temptations, a

restraint of some kind was absolutely necessary, to prevent the abuses that are so liable to flow from the possession of power.

51st. The country still abounds in wealth, and its inhabitants are still addicted to the same corrupt means of compassing their ends, to which from having long lived under arbitrary Government, they have become naturally habituated; and if its present Rulers have brought with them purer principles from the land of their birth which may better withstand the influence of long residence amid the numerous temptations to which they are exposed;—on the other hand, from the seat of the Supreme Government being placed at an immense distance and the channel of communication entirely in their own hands, they are left more at liberty to follow their own interests, and looking forward to the quiet and secure enjoyment of their wealth in their native land, they may care little for the character they leave behind them in a remote country, among a people for whose opinion they have no regard. Your Majesty's faithful subjects, therefore, humbly presume, that the existence of a restraint of some kind, is absolutely necessary to preserve your faithful subjects from the abuses of uncontrolled power.

54th. In conclusion, your Majesty's faithful subjects humbly beseech your Majesty, first, to cause the Rule and Ordinance and Regulation before mentioned, which has been registered by the Judge of your Majesty's Court, to be rescinded; and prohibit any authority in this country, from assuming the legislative power, or prerogatives of your Majesty and the High Council of the Realm, to narrow the privileges and destroy the rights

of your Majesty's faithful subjects, who claim your protection, and are willing to submit to such laws, as your Majesty with the advice of your Council, shall be graciously pleased to enact.

Secondly, your Majesty's faithful subjects humbly pray, that your Majesty will be pleased to confirm to them the privilege, they have so long enjoyed, of expressing their sentiments through the medium of the Press, subject to such legal restraints as may be thought necessary or that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to appoint a commission of intelligent and independent Gentlemen, to inquire into the real condition of the millions Providence has placed under your high protection.

55th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects from the distance of almost half the globe, appeal to your Majesty's heart by the sympathy which forms a paternal tie between you and the lowest of your subjects, not to overlook their condition; they appeal to you by the honour of that great nation which under your Royal auspices has obtained the glorious title of Liberator of Europe, not to permit the possibility of millions of your subjects being wantonly trampled on and oppressed; they lastly appeal to you by the glory of your Crown on which the eyes of the world are fixed, not to consign the natives of India, to perpetual oppression and degradation.

5. Extract from Letter of Rev. Wm. Adam, the great Unitarian Missionary and co-adjutor of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, and Secretary to the Calcutta Unitarian Committee, to Rev. W. J. Fox, Foreign Secretary to the British & Foreign Unitarian Association, expressing, among other things, the views of the members of the committee, inclusive of Indians, on British connexion. (1827).

Politics and government do not enter, under any form, into our plans; but it may not be altogether irrelevant to add, that all the members of the Committee, Native as well as European, unite in the strong conviction that no greater misfortune could happen to India, than the dissolution of its connexion with Great Britain; and that as private individuals, they most earnestly desire to see the bonds of union even more closely drawn, and the principles of British law more fully engrafted on its institutions, than they are at present.

6. An article over the signature of "A Landholder" published in the "Sungbaud Cowmuddy" or the "Moon of Intelligence," 28th February, 1828.

A few weeks ago there was a meeting held in the Town Hall, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to equalize the rates of duty on the Sugar exported from the West Indies and from this country, and to allow British-born subjects unrestricted residence in India. When after a free and lengthened discussion, several resolutions were proposed and passed, a Clergyman, whose ruling passion is only contention and quarrelling, instead of opposing any of the objects of the meeting openly, expressed to a Native acquaintance his entire disapprobation of the last mentioned object and has since, I understand, persuaded him and some others through him, to present a Counter-Petition, which is now under preparation by the Rev. gentleman.

From what our Native friends heard from that Minister of the Gospel, they have formed the opinion, that the ultimate object of that prayer was to displace

the Native Landholders from their respective estates by allowing Europeans to possess the Landed property in the country, and to make a general effort, through the vast number of European residents, to convert the Hindoos to Christianity.

Under this impression, they have drawn up a sketch of their intended Counter Petition, and given the same to the Rev. gentleman to revise it, and to suggest any further arguments that might give weight to the Counter Petition, but being advocates for a bad cause, they have not yet been able to come to a conclusion.

Both in their conversation and writings, they generally refer to the alleged disadvantages and injuries resulting from Indigo plantations throughout the country by European gentlemen, and make attempts to give the public to understand, that Europeans having already occupied a great portion of land productive of paddy, &c. for the plantation of Indigo, the scarcity of rice, the principal food of the Native population, is severely felt and consequently the lower classes have been involved in great distress and trouble from the want of the necessaries of life.

It is however well known to every one, who has an estate in the country, and personally conducts the affairs of his zemindary, to what great degree waste lands have been cultivated in consequence of Indigo plantation and how comfortably the lower classes are spending their days from the dispersion of money throughout the country by the Indigo Planters. Those peasants who were, in former times forced by their Zumendara to labour for them without any remuneration or for the gift of a small quantity of rice, are now enjoying some freedom and

comfort under the protection of Indigo Planters, each receiving for his labour, a salary of about four rupees per month from these Planters of Indigo and many persons of middle rank, who know not how to maintain themselves and their families, being employed as sirkars &c. under these Indigo Planters at a higher salary remain no longer victims to the whims of Zemendars and great Banyans. From these circumstances, it can be justly inferred, that should the unrestricted residence of European Gentlemen be permitted, and thereby a great number of Europeans become permanent settlers in different parts of the country to carry on plantation, commerce, &c. the condition of the lower and middling classes would certainly be more improved and the soils better laid out, a circumstance the apprehension of which is mortifying to the self-interested landholders, who are eagerly desirous to trample down the lower and middling classes within their respective circles.

From a reference to the reports made from time to time to Government by its inquisitive Judges, the cruel behaviours of the Zemendars towards their Ryots, will be satisfactorily proved. Besides several landholders, who did not or very seldom visit their respective Zemendaries, placing confidence in their managers and stewards, allow them entire power over the cultivation; but the managers generally abuse the trust placed in them, and grievously oppress the Ryots for their own advantage. They ultimately compel many of the cultivators through extortion to fly to other villages, leaving their huts unoccupied and soils totally waste. The false excuse which they offer to their masters is, that owing to the tyranny exercised by Indigo Planters, the revenue is reduced and

cultivation diminished, and thereby they keep their masters in darkness.

Under these circumstances, I hope I shall be justified when I say, that whosoever is inclined to oppose the diffusion of knowledge among the natives by the British Government of India, and by many private individuals, among Europeans, or whosoever is disposed to oppose the unrestricted residence of Europeans in this country, provided certain changes shall at the same time, be introduced into the system of administering justice, is an enemy to the natives and to their rising and future generations.

7. Letter over the signature of "A Landholder" to the Editor of the "Bengal Hurkaru & Chronicle," March 8, 1828.

Sir,

The Editor of the *Bull* speaks with surprize of a Native Landholder having manifested a wish "to introduce foreigners and strangers into his country." I must therefore refer the Editor to the pages of history, and assure him for his consolation, that no native Landholder ever invited *foreigners and strangers* to visit his land and settle here. But that it was *foreigners and strangers* that first made their appearance in the country and have gradually established themselves as the sole Rulers of this vast empire, inviting their fellow countrymen to follow them and engage in commerce and other honest pursuits.

Now the question is whether these *foreigners and strangers* have proved so obnoxious to the native inhabitants and so injurious to their interests as to justify the

latter in regarding the former with enmity and shunning concord and union with them or whether these *foreigners* have been found friendly and beneficial to the native community and instrumental in improving their condition. To come to a conclusion on this point by means of experience, let us next direct our inquiry to the mutual relation existing between those *foreigners* and the natives residing in Calcutta, where a vast number of foreigners of all ranks and descriptions, whom the *John Bull* represents as "*monsters*," are permitted to reside, to trade, to purchase land and keep up intercourse with the native population and where both equally enjoy the protection of British Law.

We find in Calcutta Seminaries principally established and supported by *foreigners and strangers* for the education of native youths both in English and Bengallee, several of these *foreigners* not only give their contributions for the purpose of diffusing knowledge among the natives, but bestow their labour also gratuitously in promoting education. We find here hundreds of natives of wealth and influence well informed and less prejudiced chiefly owing to their intercourse with *foreigners and strangers*, so that they feel no disgrace or reluctance in following the example of *foreigners* in laying out gardens, building houses and furnishing them according to the fashion of Europe for the enjoyment of health and comfort, they in imitation of their *foreign* neighbours scorn at the idea of "trampling down ryots" or such as are placed under them as their dependents. Again we find in Calcutta thousands of men of the middling classes raised to a degree of independence from the patronage of

foreigners and strangers, enjoying liberty of thought and action. We daily have an opportunity of observing here that *many* thousands of men of the lower classes, commonly called ryots, are comfortably lodged and decently clothed under the protection and support of *foreigners and strangers*, without proving offensive to their superiors or manifesting a desire "to oppose their hereditary landlords." In appearance, in dress, and in the enjoyment of comfort they in general excel the sons and relations of those petty landholders that reside in the country where these *foreigners and strangers* are forbidden to settle; and where, in consequence, nothing but ignorance, superstition and poverty prevail.

Let any person endued with common sense and common honesty associate and communicate both with the native inhabitants of Calcutta and those that reside in the country, and compare the intellectual, social and domestic condition of the one with the other and then state publicly, whether he considers me justified in saying, that "whosoever is disposed to oppose the unrestricted residence of Europeans in this country, provided certain changes shall at the same time be introduced into the system of administering Justice, is an *enemy* to the natives and to their rising and future generations." It is now left with the Editor of the *Bull* to shew and substantiate the contrary, viz. that these *foreigners* have proved obnoxious to the native inhabitants and injurious to their interests, should he succeed in the attempt, I shall give up the position.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
8th March, 1828.

A Landholder.

5. Editorial article in the "Bengel Herald," owned by Raja Rem Mohun Roy and a few other native gentlemen of his party, "On the Prosperity of Bengal in 1829." (June 13, 1829.)

There can be little doubt that the encrease of wealth in Calcutta, and throughout Bengal, has been rapid within the last few years, and we are naturally led to enquire the reason thereof.

The value of land may be assigned as the more immediate, and the lesser restrictions on commerce and greater introduction of Europeans, as the primary cause of this beneficial change. Many facts may be brought forward to strengthen each of these assertions, and, as they speak for themselves, need no preface. Land has been purchased in Calcutta thirty years ago for *fifteen* rupees, now it is worth, and would sell for *three hundred Rupees!!!* Many similar examples might be adduced. By means of this territorial value, a class of society has sprung into existence, that were before unknown; these are placed between the aristocracy and the poor, and are daily forming a most influential class. Previous to their formation, the wealth of the country was in the hands of a few individuals, while all others were dependant on them, and the bulk of the people were in a state of abject poverty of mind and body, which will perhaps form a juster reason for the pervading moral bondage of the Hindoos, than the more specious ones of climate or religion.

The advantages to be derived from this change are incalculable, not merely as regards the Hindoos themselves, but as affecting the prosperity and stability of the British Indian Empire. It is the dawn of a new era.

Whenever such an order of men, have been created, freedom has followed in its train. Do we need an example?—look at England after the Norman conquest, when the people were Serfs, and the landholders lived as the Zemindars of this country did some years ago; but watch their progress up to the eighth Henry, when wealth became more equally diffused, and continue the view until the son of a butcher dethroned and decapitated a monarch, and made the Republic of England feared and admired by the world. Do we need an instance of the misfortune of having only two ranks in a country; look at Spain, where every man that can afford it, lives without either mental or bodily labour, and claims the rank of an *Hidalgo*. Need we go farther—look at unhappy Poland, where the peasantry are sold with the soil. With the many examples of this nature before us, it may not be deemed presumptuous to assert, that this middling class of inhabitants in Bengal, afford the most cheering indications of any that exist at the present period.

Among the beneficial effects already derivable from this new order of things, is the greater circulation of money—this admits of proof. In the first place, the cowries are nearly extinct in Calcutta, and in the course of a few years they will scarcely be seen in Bengal. Ten years ago, a labourer in Calcutta received two rupees a month—now he is not satisfied with less than four or five, and there is even a scarcity of workmen. A cabinet-maker formerly received *eight* rupees a month—now he obtains *sixteen* or *twenty* rupees for the same period. The price of labour is also increased in the country. Twelve field labourers were formerly to be had for *one*

rupee a day—now six men can only be had for a similar sum. Land for paddy was used to be rented for one rupee a beegah now a Zemindar asks from his tenants, three or four rupees a beegah. The rice which was wont to be sold for *eight annas* a maund, may now be averaged at *two rupees* a maund; and the entire district of a Zemindarey is now cultivated, when formerly not one half was tilled; this is in consequence of the Indigo planting.

Let us now proceed to investigate the causes of this change. We think it may be demonstrated that the throwing open of the trade, and the admission of Europeans, even with all the restrictions that have been imposed, are the leading causes: because, previous to the charter of 1813, the state of the country did not bear those decided marks of improvement which it has done since. A baneful monopoly checked the exertions of individuals, and, by its magnitude, deterred many from embarking in speculations which have since proved profitable pursuits. The arrival of European settlers has encouraged the manufacture of Indigo, which, while it benefitted themselves, enriched both England and India, and developed, in some degree, the capabilities of both the soil and climate of the latter.

Those who have called out so loudly against the increased facility for our trade with Liverpool, Glasgow, &c., have adduced, as an argument in their favor, that the India market has become glutted with English manufactures, and that those who have exported them have suffered severely. This event happens in all similar changes, and is productive of the most beneficial effects. The cheapness of the article induces purchasers, and a

taste, before unknown, is thereby created, which, on the goods attaining their standard value, will, if possible, continue to be gratified; hence new importations are encouraged, and the happiness of the provider and consumer increased. It is, however, evident, that on such an occurrence, a reciprocity of trade must take place, and that if England expects that India will prove a large mart for her produce, she must remove the restrictive, almost prohibitory duties on Asiatic produce, which are disgraceful to a free country. The East India Company alone, it is said, draw annually from India *four Millions sterling, in bullion—upwards of two millions of which are for the payment of dividends to the share-holders, and the remainder for the expenses of the home establishment.*

We have conversed with very many Native gentlemen who, themselves, are astonished at the increased value of their property, and when asked to assign a cause, they attribute it to the importation of European produce, skill and energy.

If such effects have been already produced, what may not be expected by the equalization of duties in East and West India Sugars—the importation of Machinery—and the introduction and settlement of Europeans, freed from the odious, overbearing threat of deportation, so repugnant, so galling to the feelings of every man possessed of a spark of liberty.

Of the advantages derivable from unrestricted commerce, Liverpool is a glorious example, and, in our European department of to-day, will be found a list of the Shipping which entered and departed from her magnificent docks, which is more than are numbered for any

other port of Great Britain. The revenue produced from which, allowed about one hundred and twenty-two thousand pounds for the improvement and extension of the town.

The late Bishop Heber's writings have been made an argument against the free ingress of Britons here; but even this amiable prelate has borne the most decided, though, perhaps, unwilling testimony in their favor. If the readers of his "Narrative" will remark, it may be observed that he frequently states in his diary—"the country looks improved, and the people prosperous and happy;—passed several Indigo Factories to-day." The sequel of the passago will afford a clue to the foregoing part of it.

We shall return to the subject next week, and, in the meantime, we submit to the attention of our Native friends the propriety of their coming forward and disproving the rumour that has been promulgated, namely—that they are averse to further colonization. A Petition to Parliament *from them alone* would have considerable weight at home. If the restrictions that have so long hampered this country be removed, India would become of more worth to Britain than *all* her other colonies put together. The carrying of such a project into effect, is worthy of a great and enlightened statesman.

Since writing the foregoing, we observed that the *Hurkaru* states that it is whispered that the highest authorities in the country are "favourably inclined towards the removal of all restrictions on the settlement of Europeans in the interior." The Editor does not state whether the power of deportation will be relinquished, which forms the most essential part, as no man will sit

down to cultivate land if he be liable to be transported at the will of an individual, to whom he may be obnoxious.

9. Raja Ram Mohun Roy's view on India's political dependence, as recorded by Victor Jacquemont, the renowned French Naturalist Traveller. (1829.)

The largeness and justice of his ideas on the different States of Europe have surprised me. Formerly, when he was young, he told me this Europe, the ruler of his country, was odious to him. The blind patriotism of youth made him detest the English and all who came with them. Enlightened since then as to the benefits of all kinds which follow everywhere the establishment of their power, he regards it as an advantage for India. When we depend by the conditions of our existence on all the objects and all the beings of nature, is not this furious love for national independence a chimera? he said to me. Why then, while in society the individual is without cessation obliged to have recourse to the assistance of his neighbour, above all, if this neighbour is more strong than he, why, then, should a nation have this absurd pride about not depending on another? Conquest is very rarely an evil when the conquerors are more civilized than the people conquered, because they bring to them the advantages of civilization. Many years of English domination will be necessary before India will be able to resume her political independence without losing much.

10. Raja Ram Mohun Roy's Letter to Mr. Nathaniel Alexander in reply to the latter's queries re: Agitation against the Indigo Planters. (1829.)

The advances made to ryots by the indigo planters have increased in most factories in consequence of the price of indigo having risen, and in many, better prices than formerly are allowed for the plant...I am positively of opinion that upon the whole the indigo planters have done more essential good to the natives of Bengal than any other class of persons. This is a fact which I will not hesitate to affirm whenever I may be questioned on the subject either in India or in Europe. I at the same time must confess that there are individuals of that class of society who either from hasty disposition or want of due discretion have proved obnoxious to those who expected milder treatment from them. But, my dear sir, you are well aware that no general good can be effected without some partial evil, and in this instance I am happy to say that the former greatly preponderates over the latter. If any class of the natives "would gladly see them all turned out of the country," it would be the zemindars in general, since in many instances the planters have successfully protected the ryots against the tyranny and oppression of their landlords.

11. Raja Ram Mohun Roy's speech at a Public Meeting held in the Town Hall of Calcutta (15th December, 1826) for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to throw open the China and India trade, and to provide, on the expiration of the existing charter of the East India Company, for the unfettered application

of British skill, capital and industry to the commercial and agricultural resources of India.

In supporting the resolution on the last subject, Ram Mohun Roy said: "From personal experience I am impressed with the conviction that the greater our intercourse with European Gentlemen the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs, a fact which can be easily proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage, with that of those who unfortunately have not had that opportunity; and a fact which I could, to the best of my belief, declare on solemn oath before any assembly. As to the indigo planters I beg to observe that I have travelled through several districts in Bengal and Behar and I found the natives residing in the neighbourhood of Indigo plantations evidently better clothed and better conditioned than those who lived at a distance from such stations. There may be some partial injury done by the Indigo planters, but on the whole, they have performed more good to the generality of the natives of this country, than any other class of Europeans whether in or out of the Service."

12. (Prince) Dwarkanath Tagore's speech at the above meeting. (15th December, 1829.)

In moving the resolution, "That this Meeting, considering one of the main legal obstructions to commercial, agricultural and manufacturing improvement to consist in the obstacles, which are opposed to the occupancy or acquisition of land by British subjects, and against their free resort to, and unmolested residence

within the limits of the Company's administration, does approve and confirm the concluding prayer of the former Petitions to Parliament for the abolition of all such restrictions on the resort of British subjects to, and on their residence in India, as are calculated to affect the Commercial prosperity of the Country," Dwarkanath said: "With reference to the subject more immediately before the meeting, I beg to state, that I have several Zemindaries in various districts; and that I have found the cultivation of indigo and residence of Europeans have considerably benefited the country and the community at large; the Zemindars becoming wealthy and prosperous, the Ryots materially improved in their condition and possessing many more comforts than the generality of my countrymen where Indigo cultivation and manufacture is not carried on, the value of land in the vicinity to be considerably enhanced and cultivation rapidly progressing. I do not make these statements merely from hearsay, but from personal observation and experience as I have visited the places referred to repeatedly and in consequence am well acquainted with the character and manner of the Indigo Planters. There may be a few exceptions as regard the general conduct of Indigo Planters but they are extremely limited and comparatively speaking, of the most trifling importance. I may be permitted to mention an instance in support of this statement. Some years ago when Indigo was not so generally manufactured, one of my estates where there was no cultivation of Indigo, did not yield a sufficient income to pay the Government assessment; but within a few years, by the introduction of Indigo, there is now not a Biggah on the estate untilled, and it gives me a hand-

some profit; several of my relations and friends, whose affairs I am well acquainted with, have in like manner improved their property, and are receiving a large income from their estates. If such beneficial effects as these I have enumerated have accrued from the bestowing of European skill in one article of production alone, what further advantages may not be anticipated from the unrestricted application of British Skill, Capital, and Industry to the very many articles which this country is capable of producing, to as great extent and of as excellent a quality, as any other in the world, and which of course cannot be expected to be produced without the free recourse of Europeans?"

13. Article on the "Political Faith of Educated Hindoos" in the "Reformer", (July 1831), a renowned English Weekly, owned by the (Hon'ble) Prosonno Coomar Tagore, one of the great followers of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and champion of his reform activities.

We are glad to find the *John Bull* has at last acknowledged that (although he had commenced to blow the trumpet of alarm from the day of our birth) we have produced no harm whatever in the country, and has thus unequivocally admitted that up to this day his alarms have proved *false*. This is sufficient for us, and we leave him to palm his prophetic speculations into futurity on those who are silly enough to lend him an attentive ear. The subject however deserves our attention inasmuch as it has been taken up by those to whose advice we are ever ready to listen. If our voice is at all the voice of the

Native population, particularly of the enlightened portion of them, our representations of the feelings of this class should be looked upon as more true and correct than what the English Editors can give, from their partial intercourse with the Natives. With regard to the subject we are considering, we shall in a few words develop the real feelings which prevail amongst us. If we were to be asked, what Government we would prefer, English or any other? we would one and all reply. English by all means—ay even in preference to a Hiadoo Government. But it is a truism, which need not be urged, that no human institution is perfect, and they will admit of improvements; we accordingly take the liberty of pointing out the defects which we perceive in the existing institutions of the country, with a sincere desire for their improvement: which is attended to only strengthen the amicable bonds of that union from which flows the happiness of the subject, and the permanent security of the Ruler.

14. Raja Ram Mohun Roy's speech at the Dinner given to him on 6th July, 1831, at the City of London Tavern, by the Hon'ble East India Company.

That day was, he said, one to which he had looked forward with the greatest degree of expectation. It rejoiced him to be seated amongst a body of gentlemen who had with such humanity and kindness carried on the government of India. Before the period at which India had become tributary to Great Britain, it was the scene of the most frequent and bloody conflicts. In the various provinces of the Eastern dominions, nothing was

to be seen but plunder and devastation; there was no security for property or for life, until, by the interference of this country, the great sources of discord were checked, education has advanced, and the example of the British system of dominion had a conciliating effect upon the natives of the East. He felt most grateful to the various illustrious persons who had filled from time to time the office of Governor-General—to Lords Cornwallie, Wellesley, and Hastings,—ay, and to the nobleman at present in power, Lord William Bentinck, who had laid aside everything like show or ostentation, and exhibited no symptom of arbitrary authority, but, on the contrary, had done all in his power to gain the good opinions of the natives of India, and so raise them in the scale of nations. He felt proud and grateful at what India was experiencing, and he trusted that so long as she should remain amongst the nations of the earth, she would be ruled by Government equally popular and distinguished by similar acts of kindness, conciliation, and humanity.

15. Extract from a Letter of Raja Ram Mohun Roy written to a friend in India from England. (1832.)

I lately sent you two dispatches by the ships *Georgiana* and *Roxburgh Castle*, and now lose no time in informing you that the East India Juries and Justices Bill has passed into a law, (on the 16th instant,) notwithstanding strenuous opposition on the part of the Company and some of their servants. The natives of India are indebted only to Mr. Charles Grant, President of the Board of Control, for this just and liberal measure, which must have the effect of raising them morally and politically. Both the Hindoos and Moossulmans are now

entitled, equally with Christians, to serve as Justices of the Peace as well as to sit on both Grand and Petty Juries. No longer can a spirit of religious rancour find its way into India. Now, I beg you to recollect how much despair was expressed when we were preparing the petition to Parliament five or six years ago, praying for the removal of the religious distinctions contained in Mr. Wynn's act. Even in one of your letters received by me some time ago, you intimated that 'there was no use in petitioning Parliament and seeking justice for the natives of India, since only a few speeches are made on the presenting the petition, and then the subject drops'. I fully admit that you were perfectly right as regards the nature and character of the former Government and Parliament. The case is now, however, very much altered. The present Government seems very liberal, and the voice of the mighty people of England grows every day stronger in proportion to the growth of their intelligence. I must at the same time confess that the progress we have made in India as to knowledge or politics, is by no means equal to that made here by the English; I therefore beg to observe, that moderation and prudence should not be lost sight of by our countrymen. We should not be too hasty and too sanguine in raising our condition, since gradual improvements are most durable.

Though it is impossible for a thinking man not to feel the evils of political subjection and dependence on a foreign people, yet when we reflect on the advantages which we have derived and may hope to derive from our connection with Great Britain, we may be reconciled to the present state of things which promises permanent benefits to our posterity. Besides security from

foreign invaders and internal plunderers, let us ask ourselves, whether we could have rescued ourselves from the stigma of female murder (Suttee-burning) but for the English? Whether we could otherwise have obtained the power of equalizing ourselves with the rulers of the country in regard not only to civil but to criminal jurisprudence?

16. (The Hon'ble Mr.) Prosonno Coomarr Tagore's speech at the Free Press Dinner held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 9th February, 1836.

Gentlemen, as a friend of the late Ram Mohun Roy, and one who was glad to participate, though in a minor degree, in the persecutions he suffered, and as a native of India, I rise to offer you my warmest thanks for the honor you have done to the memory of my late lamented friend, and for the interest you have expressed for the improvement of my country. When you hear that we complain of omissions on the part of Government as regards the improvement of our country and the cause of education, I wish you not to understand that we mean to say, that it has totally neglected to perform its duty, but that it had not done so much in this respect as it ought and could have done. The day when the distinctions of color, casts, and religion, and the difference between conquerors, and conquered will be totally banished, is, I am happy to say, fast approaching, when we shall be treated not as conquered but as fellow-subjects of the British crown. (Cheers.) Some have thought fit to surmise, that by the diffusion of education among the people of India, the connexion between her and England

will ultimately be dissolved. These people, I say, are quite wrong; because if gratitude be a feeling inherent in human nature, and if education and enlightenment tend to cherish that feeling, how can it be asserted, that, if India owe to England, her mother country, a heavy debt of gratitude for her enlightenment, that she will prove an ungrateful daughter? No, on the contrary, education and allowing to the people of India the exercise of the political privileges regarding the English, as at home, is the surest way of establishing British rule in India on the firmest basis. Although, gentlemen, you perceive but a small number of my countrymen present this evening to do honor to the occasion, yet I have reason to believe, that it will not be long ere this cause of complaint against them will be removed. The day will soon come when in this hall and on such an occasion, your number will not command so overwhelming a majority, but rather be in the minority. I cannot, gentlemen, proceed further. Though thoughts I have, I have not language sufficient at command to express them. I therefore conclude with again returning you my warmest thanks for the honor you have done by the last toast. (Cheers.)

17. (Prince) Dwarkanath Tagore's speech in reply to the toast proposed by the Lord Mayor of London at a banquet held in his honour at the Mansion-house, London. (1842.)

The company could not, he said, expect to hear him speak well in a language foreign to him. He could not, at any rate, express his gratitude in that language. Indeed, he knew no language which could describe that

sentiment. (Cheers.) It was not merely because he was received and treated in so flattering a manner that night, and in that company, but because ever since he set his foot upon English ground he had experienced the most unexpected kindness and attention. He spoke this as referring to himself as a stranger. But if he felt as he ought the distinction and friendship with which he had been treated, what must his country, which had been saved from utter destruction by the national friendship and humanity of England, feel upon looking to the glorious result? (Cheers.) It was England who sent out Clive and Cornwallis to benefit India by their counsels and arms. It was England that sent out of that distant nation the great man who had succeeded in establishing peace in the world, and who was the first man that introduced a proper and permanent order of things in the East. It was the country which the company he addressed represented that, to the honour of human nature, protected his countrymen from tyranny and villainy.....(Loud cheers). And all this was done—not in the expectation of a requital—not in the hope of anything whatever in return, but from the mere love of doing good. Twenty millions of money were given to check one horrible system of cruelty in the West Indies by the very people who spilt their blood and expended their treasure in opposing the torrent of oppression in the East. (Loud cheers.) It was impossible for his countrymen to treat the English with ingratitude. He was confident that they could never be such fatal enemies to themselves as to exchange for the benignant protection of the British, the awful villainy and tyranny ofor the Russians. (Loud cheers.)

1e. (Prince) Dwarkanath Tagore's speech at a special meeting held in Edinburgh (1842) by the Magistrates and Council of the City to confer upon him the Freedom of the City.

My Lord Provost and Gentlemen,—I appreciate more highly than I can express, the distinction which has this day been so unexpectedly conferred upon me by the Lord Provost, the Magistrates, and Council of this ancient and learned city. Though not permitted, till yesterday, to behold any part of the beautiful and romantic country of which this city is the proud and justly celebrated metropolis, I was not a stranger to your eventful history, nor to the labours of your men of science and literature, and least of all to the enterprise, the talents, and the patriotism of the many sons of Scotland, who have distinguished themselves in that part of Her Majesty's dominions, with which by birth, by fortune, and by strong affection, I am connected. Let me take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging, that the first wish which rose in my bosom to tread the shores of the British Isles, was inspired by a friend, who was a native of this country. I am happy that I cherished, and have lived to fulfil that wish (cheers). The reception I have uniformly experienced from the first moment of my arrival in Great Britain until the present, and the facilities now afforded, and still increasing, for visiting this country, will, I confidently trust, operate as an inducement to many others of my countrymen to follow my example, and have the effect of uniting still more closely, in the bonds of mutual interest, acquaintanceship, and good feeling, the natives of the most distant parts of Her Majesty's pos-

sessions (applause). My Lord Provost and Gentlemen, permit me to assure you, that it will be to me a source of no ordinary gratification on my return to India, to know that, though far away from you, I am enrolled among you as a fellow-citizen. Allow me to say, too, that I shall eagerly embrace every opportunity of discharging the duties of a fellow-citizen to the sons of your soil, whom it may be my happiness to meet in my native land. It shall be my endeavour to make such feel as much at home in Calcutta as I have been made to feel in Edinburgh. If, in years that are past, I have felt it to be alike my duty and my privilege to advance the common interests of this country, and of that to which I more peculiarly belong, whose destinies have been committed to your control, I shall henceforward find an additional motive in the remembrance of this day's transactions, since I am now not merely your fellow-subject, but your fellow-citizen (loud cheers).

My Lord Provost and Gentlemen, I return you my most grateful thanks for the flattering compliment you have bestowed upon me, the value of which will be much augmented if you will permit me to regard it as a token of the interest with which you view the country of my birth, and a pledge that you will co-operate in all wise and peaceable measures for its improvement and happiness (cheers). In conclusion, I would express my earnest wish for the prosperity of Edinburgh, and of this kingdom at large, and my fervent hope that under the mild, enlightened, and benignant sway of that gracious Sovereign whom you are about to welcome to your city, the various parts of this vast empire, and all its dependencies, may be firmly consolidated, and all

classes of Her Majesty's subjects have cause to rejoice that so extensive a dominion has been entrusted to the Government under which it is our happiness to live (cheers).

19. (Prince) Dwarkanath Tagore's Letter to the Court of Directors, 25th October, 1842.

Paris, 25th October, 1842.

Gentlemen,—I have received, with a pride and pleasure I cannot find words to express, the letter with which you have honoured me. If my efforts to promote the improvements of my countrymen, and the welfare of my native land, had been attended by suffering, privation, or evil to myself, I should have sought no higher recompense than the flattering opinion the Honourable the Court of Directors have been pleased to express of my conduct, and the gratifying testimonial of that opinion to which you advert, and which I shall be proud to wear. I repeat, that, if distress and danger had beset my path, I should have considered myself more than rewarded by the distinguished honour now conferred upon me; but I felt with confidence, and not less with gratitude, that, under the just and liberal rule of the Honourable Court, an honest citizen seeking to improve the condition of his country by legal and not unworthy means had everything to hope for, and nothing to apprehend. I have worked in my humble sphere under a firm conviction that the happiness of India is best secured by her connexion with your own great and

glorious country, and that the more the people of that vast empire were enlightened, the more sensible they would become of the invincible power of the protecting state, and of the excellence of a government, whose pure and benevolent intentions, whose noble solicitude for the welfare and improvement of the millions committed by Providence to its charge, may challenge the admiration of the wide world. To yourselves, gentlemen, allow me to offer my unfeigned thanks for the manner in which you have communicated the gracious sentiments and intentions of the Honourable Court. The honour, so great in itself, has been doubly acceptable by the terms in which your kindness conveyed it. Indeed, if I might be allowed, I would solicit permission to present my humble and grateful acknowledgments to the Honourable Court individually, as well as collectively, for this generous hospitality, delicate courtesy, and unvaried goodness, which I shall not cease to remember with gratitude whilst I live. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

Dwarkanauth Tagore.

20. Extract from the Presidential Address of Raja Radhacant Deb, (the first President of the British Indian Association, Calcutta), at a Native Meeting held in the Town Hall of Calcutta (29th July, 1853) to consider a Petition to be sent to the Parliament in England on the Charter question.

In the first place, it is incumbent on me to say and, on all others, to know, that we have not met here with

any feelings of hostility towards the Hon'ble East India Company, but with the view of obtaining a just recognition of our rights and privileges from our benign rulers.

The Hindus in this part of India, I am happy to observe, have always been the most loyal subjects of the British Crown, evinced a deep interest in its prosperity and were greatly instrumental in procuring for it, its earliest territorial acquisitions in India.....

Will not those persons who have before the Committee on Indian Affairs, blackened the character of the Hindoos so loyal, so faithful and so devoted to the interests of their rulers, be censured by all impartial men? Do not the least observing of all observers amongst us, see clearly how grossly they have distorted facts?

21. Letter to the Governor-General of India from the British Indian Association, Calcutta, (23 May, 1857), on the breaking out of the Sepoy Mutiny, with its Reply.

To the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Viscount Canning,
Governor-General of India.

My Lord,—We the President, Vice-President, and Committee of the British Indian Association, beg leave to approach your Lordship with the accompanying copy of Resolutions which we felt our duty to record on hearing of the deplorable events which have lately occurred at Meerut and Delhi.

We have also resolved to circulate these resolutions,

among our countrymen in the interior, and to make known their purport generally by means of translations.

Were we permitted to add any thing to these resolutions, it would be an expression of our admiration for, and confidence in, your Lordship's conduct of affairs at this crisis.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,
My Lord, your Lordship's most humble
servants.

(Sd) Radhakant, Rajah Bahadoor
,, Raja Kalikrishna Bahadoor, V.P.
,, Pertaub Chunder Sing and others.

Extract Proceedings of a Meeting of the Committee of the British Indian Association held on the 22nd May 1857.

The Committee of the British Indian Association have heard of the disastrous events which have lately occurred at Meerut and Delhi with deep concern and sorrow.

The Committee view with disgust and horror the disgraceful and mutinous conduct of the native soldiery at those stations, and the excess committed by them, and confidently trust to find that they have met with no sympathy, countenance, or support from the bulk of the civil population of that part of the country, or from any reputable or influential classes among them.

The Committee of the Association record without hesitation of their conviction of the utter groundlessness of the reports that have led a hitherto faithful body of the soldiers of the state to the commission of the gravest

crimes of which military men or civil subjects can be guilty, and the Committee deem it incumbent on them on the present occasion to express their deep abhorrence of the practices and purposes of those who have spread those false and mischievous reports.

The Committee earnestly hope for the restoration of peace and good order, which they doubt not will soon be re-established by the vigorous measures which the Government have adopted in this exigency.

The Committee trust and believe that the loyalty of their fellow subjects in India to the Government under which they live and their confidence in its power and good intentions are unimpaired by the lamentable events which have occurred in the detestable efforts which have been made to alienate the mind of the sepoys and the people of the country from their duty and allegiance to the beneficent rule under which they are placed.

(Sd) Iesur Chundur Sing,
Honorary Secretary.

REPLY

From Cecil Beadon, Esq.,

Secretary to the Government of India.

To Rajn Radhakant Deb Bahadoor,

President and the Members of the British

Indian Association.

Gentlemen,—Your address, and the Resolutions passed by the Committee on the 22nd instant, which were communicated to me in your Honorary Secretary's letter

of the 23rd, having been laid before the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, I am directed to inform you that his Lordship in Council has received this expression of the sentiments of an influential and intelligent body of Hindu gentlemen, as to the recent conduct of some of the Native Regiments, and the motives of those who instigated it, with the highest gratification.

The Governor General in Council is well assured that the rash and criminal acts of which these misguided men have been guilty, meet with no sympathy or countenance from the people at large, and that they are viewed with special abhorrence by those who can appreciate the character of the British Government, and who rightly understand the principles by which that Government is guided in the use of its vast power and resources. A signal proof of this has been afforded by the Maharaja Sindia and other Chiefs who unsolicited have given prompt and powerful support to the Government, and by the Zemindars of the disturbed districts who have protected British officers from violence, and exerted themselves loyally to check disorder.

For a hundred years under British rule every one has been left at full liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, to do such things as his religion enjoin and abstain from those which it forbids. The experience of a century has been lost upon those who can now believe the gross and wicked falsehood that the Government intends or desires to pursue a contrary course, a course by which it could gain no advantage and which could not fail to excite the indignation and hatred of its subjects.

The Committee of the British Indian Association have declared their attachment to the British Government and their confidence in its power and good intentions, and they propose that the resolutions they have passed shall be circulated among their fellow countrymen in the interior. His Lordship in Council has no doubt that these proceedings are well calculated to restore confidence where it has been shaken, and to lead to the best results.

The forces at command of the Government are enough to put down all opposition. They have now been brought to bear on the men of the mutinous regiments who are assembled at Delhi; and the Governor General in Council confidently expects that in a few days the mutiny will be entirely suppressed, tranquility again established, and condign punishment inflicted upon those who have disturbed the public peace and aggravated rebellion by crimes of the most horrible atrocity.

I have &c.

(Sd) Cecil Beadon.

Secy. to the Government of India.

Council Chamber, 25th May, 1857.

22. Article in the "Sumbad Bhaskar" or the "Sun of Intelligence", a leading vernacular paper, exhorting the natives to help the Government in suppressing the Sepoy Mutiny, May 26, 1857.

The wealthy and influential classes of the people of this country ought at once to feel the truth of the

remark, that the King protects the people, whenever any danger threatens them, and that without the protecting care and vigilance of the former, the latter can save neither their lives, nor wealth, nor caste, nor honor. The truth of this observation has long ago been proclaimed in our moral Shastras.

It is therefore equally a duty of the people, that they should look upon the King as their father, and upon any danger befalling him, should support and strengthen him with the same zeal and ardour which he displays for their safety. The British Government has not present been threatened with a danger; had this danger been the result of a war with a foreign potentate, we should not have thought of exhorting the wealthy and affluent classes of the community, in the way we should immediately do. In Cabul, Punjab, and Burmah, numerous have been the disastrous and sanguinary battles which the Government has single-handed fought and won, and without soliciting assistance from any King or prince, has humbled the pride of its enemies. This danger, however, to which we have alluded, has not been produced from any foreign war, but has proceeded from mutiny breaking out in the ranks of its protected and cherished soldiers, who are secretly fighting against their master, and undermining his power. They have taken up arms in several quarters. At such an emergency, what should Government do whether protect its subject, or send troops to the points of danger? The very soldiers who used to defend the state, have risen up in arms against it; for this reason the Government being apprehensive for its safety is asking the assistance and support of its friends.

All loyal subjects ought therefore to respond to this call with zeal and ardour. The merchants and planters of this city and environs, have already, without being requested by Government, procured arms and made other preparations, to fight in its cause and defend it with all their might, should such a contingency ever take place. They have thereby showed their loyalty to it. Should not the wealthy Natives show their forwardness in the service of Government at such a critical time? The Zemindars in the Mofussil have in their large bodies of retainers who ought to be equipped and armed for the defence of the state. Besides let the Natives of Calcutta hold a Meeting with as little delay as possible, in which they ought to discuss about the best measures to be adopted in aid of the Government. Should the rich and affluent persons of this city, take upon themselves the safety and protection of the capital, the Governor General would be relieved of the cares and pains he has been obliged to take for its sake. If at the entrance of every street in the town, troops and constables in the employ of the citizens themselves be located, by what inlet could the rebellious sepoys enter it; in whatever side they should make any attempt, there they will be forthwith opposed and killed to pieces.

Should the people uniting among themselves rise up in arms in behalf of the Government what fear can the latter then entertain for its safety, what then could the disaffected and mutinous sepoys do? Should any want be felt in the supply of arms, there will certainly be no want of *latees* and stones. Even with *latees* the people can crush the rebellious sepoys, and break their

bones to pieces. Let the wealthy classes ponder upon the fact, that had not the impending danger been considered a very serious one, the Maharaja Scindia Bahadoor, the Rajah of Pateallah, and the Rajeh of Jehud, would not have thought it necessary to send their troops and to head it in defence of the state. The Prime Minister of Nepaul, General Jung Bahadoor, who had retired to the hills, as soon as he heard of this crisis, than he has made himself ready at the head of one hundred thousand soldiers. What then are the wealthy British subjects doing at such a critical moment? Let each contribute his mite to the common good. When Ram Chandra built a passage across the sea, even the squirrels assisted. Under the British Government we enjoy nearly perfect freedom. Were the people in such state of security under the Government of the Mahomedans? The British have imparted knowledge to us and enabled us to live in safety and happiness. Even in night, when we are insensible in sleep, chowkeedars and patrols look after the safety of our lives and property. We have not any ocular demonstration as to how our ancestors were under the Government of Ram, but even to this, all speak of it. If the British rule suffer any thing in comparison to that of Ram, certain it cannot be considered to be very inferior to it. To write a true account of British administration in this country, it would fill up a second *Mahabharat*, from which task we however desist, satisfied by reminding the people that they ought to do their best when the Government is threatened with danger.

23. Proceedings of a Meeting of the Mahomedans at Calcutta on the breaking out of the Sepoy Mutiny, held on 27th May, 1857.

Whereas the news of the state of mutiny and disaffection of a portion of the Native Army have caused great anxiety and grief on account of the injury to the Company and ruin of the people which may accrue therefrom, we have in this meeting passed the following resolutions:—

1st. It is with feelings of deep regret and disgust that the members of this meeting hear that a portion of the Native Forces have recklessly thrown off their allegiance and become the destroyers of public safety, have murdered some of God's creatures and excited rebellion and disturbance, causing pillage and plunder in the Western districts of this Kingdom.

2nd. Although from the suddenness of the mutiny of the above-mentioned seditious troops, whose former fidelity rendered them free from all suspicion of such evil actions, the safety and peace of several places have accidentally been endangered, the members of this assembly feel the utmost confidence in the Government, as they know that its members are acting most wisely in exigence, and they feel certain that the fire of this rebellion will soon be extinguished.

3rd. We subjects are well aware that the members of the British Government from the commencement of their dominion in Hindoostan have repeatedly declared and made known their determination not to interfere with the religion or religious observance of any of their subjects, and we repose entire faith in this declaration

and assert that up to the present time a space of nearly one hundred years our religion has never been interfered with.

4th. A number of us, having left home have found a dwelling and asylum under this Government where we live in peace and safety, protected by the equity and fostering care of the British Government and suffering no kind of injury or loss.

5th. As we have ever lived in safety and felicity under the British rule and have never been molested or interfered with in religious matters, we therefore, with the utmost eagerness and sincerity, hereby determine that in case of necessity, we will serve the Government to the utmost of our abilities and means.

6th. The members of this meeting determine that these proceedings be published for the information of all the people, and that the original duly signed with an English translation be forwarded for the perusal of the noble Governor General (may his prosperity increase).

24. Letter to the Governor-General of India from the Mahomedan Association, Calcutta, dated 28th May, 1857, on the breaking out of the Sepoy Mutiny.

To the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Canning,
Governor General of India,
Fort William.

My Lord,—We the Committee of the Mahomedan Association beg permission to lay before your Lordship

a copy of translation of the proceedings of a special meeting of our body held at the Association rooms on the 27th May 1857, which as loyal subjects of the British Government we deemed it our duty to record upon being informed of the late disastrous events which happened in some towns of the North Western Provinces.

Our resolutions shall receive as wide a circulation as practicable, and we will only beg leave to add that the energetic and prompt efforts adopted by your Lordship are assuredly calculated to restore, and we are persuaded, will speedily renew tranquility and rule wherever it has been temporarily disturbed by the short-sighted mutiny and phrenzy of a portion of the native troops.

On our part we beg humbly to assure your Lordship, that should any occasion arise for the co-operation of the natives in this country for the support of rule and order and the preservation of the lives and properties of the subjects of the British Government, we are prepared to contribute to the utmost scope of our energies and means.

With every feeling of respect and duty,
We have the honor to be, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and most
humble servants,

Fuzloor Ruhman, *President*

Abdool Baree

Mohummed Wujjeh

Abdoor Jobbar

Mohammad Abdoor Rowoof

& others

} *Vice-presidents*

} *Members.*

Association Rooms, May 28, 1857.

Extract Proceedings of a special meeting of the Committee of the Mahomedan Association, held on the 27th May, 1857, at the Association Rooms, No. 9-1 Toltollah.

Resolved.—That this meeting having heard of the havoc and devastation lately committed in some towns of the North Western Provinces, and of the sacrifice of life and property caused by the disaffection and mutiny of a small portion of the Native soldiery of the British Government, do hereby express their sincere regret and heart-felt sorrow at those lamentable and disastrous proceedings.

Resolved.—That although by a sudden rising of the sepoys some damage to the property and lives of the loyal subjects of the British Government has been felt and the peace and tranquility of some parts of their North Western dominions has been partially disturbed, yet the Committee are gratified at observing the promptitude and energy with which the Government has adopted the most efficacious means for the repression of this short-lived rebellion, and the restoration of tranquility and order, and to express their firm belief that with such exertions this result will be speedily accomplished.

Resolved.—That this Committee learn from the proclamation promulgated by Government on the 16th May 1857, and published in the *Gazettes* and newspapers of the day, that the cause of the present mutiny may be traced to an unfounded report maliciously spread by ill-disposed men of a contemplated interference on the part of the Government with the religious rites, ceremonies, and persuasions of the natives of this country. But this Committee depend not only upon the recent but

repeated declarations of Government respecting their total non-interference with the religious principles and practices of the natives, that no molestation will be offered to their feelings on this point, inasmuch as the Government have never yet been known to deviate from any pledge they have given, and there seems to be no apparent reason why they should depart from their repeated assurances to their Native subjects on this matter.

Resolved.—That the Committee further learn from the aforesaid proclamation that the suspicion which seems to have incited a portion of the native troops to their late rebellious conduct is also believed to pervade other portions of the subjects of Government. But this Committee relying upon the pledge repeatedly given by the Government of their determination never to interfere with the religious principles and practices of the natives, are prepared and will use every possible means, to prevent the dissemination of such an unfounded impression or its taking root in the minds of their native brethren.

Resolved.—That though this Committee are convinced that only a slight effort on the part of the Government is sufficient to stifle the rebellion which has manifested itself in an inconsiderable portion of its wide and extensive dominions, and to prevent it from causing more damage, yet should the rebellion spread further and endanger the lives and properties of more of their subjects (which they pray God will prevent) they are persuaded that it is incumbent upon all who have experienced the benefits of the mild and beneficent rule of the British Government to enlist their energies in the preservation of the lives and properties of their fellow

subjects, and cordially and vigorously to co-operate with the Government in the restoration of peace and order.

Resolved.—That the proceedings of this special meeting be printed and a copy forwarded to each of the members of this Association resident in this metropolis and the Mofussil stations; that a sufficient number of copies be also printed and transmitted to the Branch Associations as well as to the Mahomedan Association at Agra, and in order to give the present proceedings every possible publicity, as many copies be circulated to the professors of the Mahomedan faith as practicable.

Resolved.—That a translation in English of these proceedings be submitted for the purpose of being laid before the Right Honorable the Governor General of India.

(Sd.) Fuzloor Ruhman, *President.*

Mohummud Muzher,

Hon'y. Secretary.

25. The Bengalees' Address to the Governor-General of India (December, 1857) on the re-taking of Delhi from the mutineers, with its Reply.

To The Right Honorable

Charles John Viscount Canning,

Governor General of India, &c. &c.

My Lord,—We, the undersigned Rajahs, Zemindars, Talookdars, Merchants, and other Natives of the province of Bengal, take the earliest opportunity, on the retaking of Delhi, to offer your Lordship in Council our

warmest congratulations on the signal success which has attended the British arms, under circumstances unparalleled in the annals of British India.

The establishment of British supremacy was considered to have been completely effected a century ago, when Clive led a few ill-trained battalions against the preponderating and well-equipped force which represented the Mogul power on the plains of Plassey. But whether the inadequacy of the means or the magnitude of that achievement, were more deserving of admiration, has not yet been determined by history.

No difference of opinion, however, can exist, as to the recapture of Delhi, the details of which have recently been published for general information. Though no one capable of forming a judgment on the subject ever doubted for a moment of the speedy reduction of Delhi, yet some little misgiving might have been felt by those who knew how well furnished was the place with the munitions of war, and occupied by what an immense number of men, whose fiendish animosity was excited to the utmost by that resolution, discipline, and acquaintance with the art of war, which they had acquired by long training in the ranks from which they had basely revolted. But there can be no question of the admiration with which the world will learn by what a handful of men the arduous work has been achieved,—in a brief period,—with the limited resources, a most unlooked for exigency afforded,—and amid discouragements arising from the unhealthiness of the season, that were all but overwhelming.

Such a result under such circumstances never could have been hoped for, but from the well-grounded

confidence of brave hearts, heroically devoted to the service of their country, and sustained by a sense of hereditary and indomitable prowess.

Happily remote from the scene of the outrages, which have darkened the aspect of the land, and tarnished that reputation for fidelity for which the native soldiery were once pre-eminent, we have derived sincere consolation from the reflection that in Bengal Proper there has been no disturbance, not even a symptom of disaffection; but that, on the contrary, the people have maintained that loyalty and devotion to the British Government, which led their ancestors to hail, and as far as they could to facilitate, the rising ascendancy of that power.

Under the fostering influence of that Government, the population of the country has increased, its agriculture has extended, security has been given to life and property, and the value of land, both at the Presidency and in the interior, has been very considerably enhanced.

Such, indeed, has been the confidence of the people throughout Bengal in the security of the British rule, that these benefits have gone on progressively, even during the height of the disturbances and alarms that have prevailed in the North Western Provinces.

Sensible of the benefits they have enjoyed under British administration, the people could not but cordially sympathise with the embarrassing position in which their Rulers had suddenly been placed, and sincerely long for the speedy and entire re-establishment of British supremacy in the disturbed districts. So entirely have they identified their interests with those of their Rulers, that the natives of Bengal, men,

women, and children, have in every part of the scene of the mutinies, been exposed to the same rancour, and treated with the same cruelty, which the mutineers and their misguided countrymen have displayed towards the British within their reach.

[While we review with exultation the benefits our countrymen at large have derived from their connection with and stedfast adherence to the British power, and while we congratulate your Lordship in Council on the success of the British arms against the mutinous soldiery, and on the happy prospect before us of the early restoration of tranquility, we cannot fail to advert, and with no less satisfaction, to the administrative abilities which have conspicuously marked this part of your Lordship's career, and which have indeed been fully equal to the crisis. No sooner had the disloyalty of the sepoys been distinctly exhibited, than your Lordship took measures, with equal foresight and energy, to obtain reinforcements of British troops, as well from the neighbouring Presidencies and dependencies of the British Crown, as from the expedition then known to be on its way to a wholly different sphere of operations, and to hasten them to the disturbed districts.

Such measures at once assured the public of the speedy restoration of tranquility throughout these territories. But not satisfied with these prospective advantages, your Lordship made such prompt use of the means that were within your immediate reach at the moment, as to ensure the reduction of the stronghold and rallying point of the mutineers, long ere the arrival of any considerable portion of the succours which Her Majesty's Government were prepared to send out to

India, for the restoration of this empire to its former condition.

In your anxiety to dispel those clouds which have troubled the political horizon, your Lordship has not been inattentive to measures which would have appeared as of subordinate importance to minds of less perspicacity, foresight, and comprehension. It has been a prominent object with your Lordship both effectually to crush the disaffected and rebellious, and to protect and reassure the loyal and obedient. Accordingly, the extensive powers of legislation vested in your hands have been employed to punish crimes of every form and magnitude against the State with promptitude and vigour; to check vigorously the progress of sedition and disloyalty; and to give a guarantee to the people at large that those powers would be wielded with justice and discrimination, so as to guard as far as possible against faithful and innocent subjects being confounded with the disseminators of sedition and the perpetrators of open mutiny or secret treachery.

Permit us to hope that your Lordship in Council will receive our heartfelt congratulations on the eminent success which has crowned the British arms, and the warmest expression of our confidence from the opportune display of those signal talents which have distinguished your administration in times of unexampled difficulty, and have largely contributed to the safety of the British empire in these regions and the re-assurance of the peaceful and loyal.

We have the honor to be, My Lord,
Your most obedient and faithful servants,
(Sd) Meharajah Mahtab Chund Bahadoor, of Burdwan.

„ Rajah Radhakant Bahadoor,
„ Raja Kalikrishna Bahadoor,
And others, Inhabitants of Bengal,
upwards of Two Thousand Five Hundred.

REPLY

From Cecil Beadon, Esq.,

Secretary to the Government of India,
To Maharajah Mahtab Chund Bahadoor of Burdwan,

Raja Radhakant Bahadoor, Raja Kalikrishna
Bahadoor, and others.

Dated the 17th December, 1857.

Gentlemen,—I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council to thank you for your address of congratulation upon the success of the British Arms in the North Western Provinces.

The honor which you give to the brave men who recaptured Delhi, is richly deserved. The Governor General in Council agrees with you in believing that when the difficulties and discouragement by which Major General Wilson and his troops were beset, shall be fully known, their achievement will call forth the admiration of the world.

It is a pleasure to the Governor General in Council to be able to confirm the praise for unbroken loyalty, which you have claimed for the province of Bengal Proper. Excepting places where the inhabitants have suffered violence from a mutinous soldiery beyond the

reach of English troops, there has been no disturbance in that province; the wealthiest, the most richly cultivated, and the most thickly peopled, of India, and yet the one which for many years past has had least share of protection from European troops.

The Governor General in Council receives with great satisfaction the expression of your confidence in the Government. No men living have a deeper stake in its measures and its policy than yourselves. If peace, order, and security are valuable to any, they are so to those who, like the foremost amongst you, hold high rank, large hereditary possessions, accumulated wealth, and respected social position. You do rightly to regard your interests, as bound up with those of your rulers, and you may be certain that your rulers will do nothing to sever them. Justice, policy, and the duty of England to India forbid it.

In conclusion, the Governor General in Council desires me to thank you for the spirit of attachment and loyalty to the British Government, which has dictated your address.

I have the honor to be &c.

Cecil Beadon,

Secy. to the Govt. of India.

Fort William,

The 17th December 1857.

28. Speech of Mr. Ram Gopaul Ghose at a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta held on the 3rd November, 1858, "for the purpose of considering the propriety of presenting an Address to H. M. the Queen on the occasion of Her assuming

the Government of British India, expressive of their devoted loyalty”.

Gentlemen, since I came into the room, I have been requested to second the Resolution which you have just heard read. I consider it a privilege and an honor to have been requested to do so. I feel that I am somewhat in a false position, inasmuch as I see around me many of higher rank, and of greater influence among my countrymen who would have more worthily and ably represented the Native community on the important occasion than I can pretend to do. But at the same time, my intercourse in life has been so much with Englishmen, and I know so much of the vast resources, the great power, and the great goodness of the English people, that I do not think myself altogether incompetent to offer an opinion on those points. (Cheers.) If I had power and influence, I would proclaim through the length and breadth of this land—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin,—from Bernampootra to the Bay of Cambay, that never were the Natives more grievously mistaken than they have been in adopting the notion foisted upon them by designing and ambitious men that their religion was at stake;—for that notion I believe to be at the root of the late rebellion. (Cheers.) They do not understand the English character; (hear, hear);—they do not understand the generosity, the benevolence of the governing Power,—the even-handed Justice with which that Power is willing and anxious always to do that which is right between man and man; without any reference whatever to the fact whether the men belonged to the governing or to the governed

class. (Cheers.) If all this were known, where would be rebellion in this land? Certainly, there would have been no such outbreak as that which recently shook the foundations of this Empire. The only remedy is Education. (Hear, hear, hear.) Nothing has distressed me more among the late acts of Government, than the positive prohibition against incurring any expence on the score of Education. (Hear, hear, hear.) Lord William Bentinck, a name which must ever be remembered with reverence, in his reply to the Address which was presented to him on the occasion of his departure from India, said, after enumerating all the evils, all the oppressions, all the grievances under which India labors, that the first remedy was Education,—that the second remedy was Education,—and that the third remedy was Education. (Cheers.)

But to come round to the point, I have read the Proclamation of Her Majesty with great pleasure,—with awakened feeling,—with tears when I came to the last paragraph. (Cheers.) A nobler production, it has not been my lot ever to have met with in my life. The justest, the broadest principles are enumerated therein. Humanity, Mercy, Justice breathe through every line, and we ought all to welcome it with the highest hope and the liveliest gratitude. Depend upon it when our Sovereign Queen tells us—"In your prosperity is our strength; in your contentment, our security; and in your gratitude, our best reward," the future of India is full of encouragement and hope to her children. What could have been nobler or more beautiful, what could have dignified even the tongue of a Queen than language such as that! Let us kneel down before her

with every feeling of loyalty;—let us welcome the new reign with the warmest sentiment of gratitude—the deepest feeling of devotion. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, I came perfectly unprepared to address you, and will detain you no longer, but conclude by saying that I feel no small pleasure in having had the opportunity and the honor of seconding this Resolution. (Cheers.)

27. Address to Her Majesty the Queen by the Native Inhabitants of Bombay (8th November, 1858), on the occasion of Parliament's assuming the direct sovereignty of India.

To Her Most Excellent Majesty the Queen.

May it Please your Majesty.—We, the undersigned, your Majesty's Native Indian Subjects, residing in the Town and Island of Bombay, duly considering the importance of the modification lately introduced into the Government of British India, whereby the direct sovereignty of these territories has devolved upon your Majesty, desire, on this auspicious occasion, to approach your Majesty's throne with an expression of our sincere loyalty, attachment, and devotion.

Firmly assured as we are, that the great principles of moderation, impartiality, and justice, characteristic of your Majesty's Government in all parts of the British Empire, will henceforth, as ever, be scrupulously recognized; we venture to offer to your Majesty our humble and hearty congratulations, on the assumption of your Royal Supremacy over this vast country, and we beg leave at the same time to express our cordial hope that the important change of administration which

has thus been inaugurated, may have the effect of placing your Majesty's rule in India on a basis still more secure than that upon which it has rested for so many years.

With earnest prayers for the welfare of your Majesty, of the Prince, your Illustrious Consort, and of your Royal Family, as well for the speedy restoration of tranquility in the disturbed Provinces of British India, and for a long continuance of peace and prosperity in your Majesty's dominions,—We, with the profoundest respect, subscribe ourselves your Majesty's most dutiful, humble, and devoted subjects.

(Sd) Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy
Jugonnauth Sunkersett
Cursetjee Jamsetjee
Ramlall Thackoorseydass
Bomanjee Hormusjee
Meer Jaffer Ali Khan Bahadur
Mirza Ali Mahomed

'And above 3000 other signatures.

Bombay, 8th November, 1858.

28. Address to Her Majesty the Queen by the Mahomedan Association of Calcutta (14th November, 1858), on the above-mentioned occasion.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

'May it Please your Majesty,—We, your Majesty's most loyal and humble subjects belonging to the Mahomedan Community of India, beseech your Majesty's permission to approach your Majesty's Throne, with these our most loyal and respectful acknowledgements for your Majesty's most gracious proclamation, read

to us on the 1st of the present month of November, 1858, by one of the Secretaries of your Majesty's Indian Government.

And, we humbly beg to lay, at your Majesty's feet this the expression of our most complete satisfaction at the announcement made in your Majesty's most gracious proclamation aforesaid, of your Majesty having assumed in your own hands, the Government of your Majesty's Indian subjects.

And, we humbly beg to lay before your Majesty also this the expression of our heartfelt gratitude for the gracious interest in, and solicitude for, the good and prosperity of your Majesty's Indian subjects, evinced in your Majesty's gracious proclamation aforesaid.

And, we beg leave to lay before your Majesty also this the expression of our deep appreciation of the promises made and intentions set forth in your Majesty's gracious proclamation aforesaid, more particularly of your Majesty's gracious intention to protect all your Majesty's Indian subjects in the free exercise of their respective religions, to secure them in the enjoyment of their ancient rights in the land, to advance them according to their deserts to posts of honor and trust in your Majesty's Royal Service, and to cause to be regarded with care their ancient rights, usages, and customs.

And, we further crave to hereby most respectfully represent unto your Majesty our admiration of the Royal clemency which extends to persons guilty of having thrown off their allegiance to your Majesty in the course of the recent unhappy disturbances, the

fullest pardon and oblivion of their offences, and also our admiration of the judgment and discrimination which excludes from the benefit of such pardon and oblivion, persons guilty of offences which it were alike unjust and impolitic to let go unpunished.

And, we most humbly beg your Majesty's permission to represent unto your Majesty our earnest and deep-rooted belief and conviction, that in the prolongation of your Majesty's rule, and that of your Majesty's Heirs and Successors over these territories is to be found the best and truest security for that prosperity and social advancement which it is your Majesty's gracious desire to promote in your Majesty's Indian dominions; and, we further, most humbly beseech that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to place trust and reliance on the earnestness and sincerity of this our representation.

And lastly, we most humbly beseech your Majesty's permission to join your Majesty in prayer to Almighty God, that by vouchsafing strength and knowledge to all He may enable your Majesty, and your Majesty's Heirs and Successors to fulfil and realise the gracious intentions of your Majesty as contained in your Majesty's most gracious Proclamation aforesaid.

And we humbly beg your Majesty's permission to subscribe ourselves your Majesty's most loyal and most dutiful subjects.

28. Address to Her Majesty the Queen by the Native Inhabitants of Madras (7th December, 1858), on the occasion aforesaid.

To Her Most Excellent and Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom, of Great

Britain and Ireland, And of the Colonies and Dependencies Thereon in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australasia.

May it Please your Majesty,—We, your Majesty's undersigned Mahomedan and Hindu subjects, inhabitants of the City of Madras, beg to approach your royal Throne with the most dutiful and respectful expression of our feelings of unfeigned loyalty towards your Imperial Person, Crown and Family; and of the deep satisfaction and the thankfulness with which we have received the Gracious Proclamation, that, on the 1st November, informed all the inhabitants of British India, that, your Majesty had been pleased to assume the Rights, Prerogatives and immediate Government of your vast and populous Dominions in India; and present with the utmost respect our heartiest felicitations to your Gracious Majesty on this auspicious occasion, so fraught with honor to your Throne and advantage to all classes of your Indian subjects, as well as to assure your Majesty that in no part of your Majesty's vast and flourishing Empire, are to be found subjects of the British Crown, more loyally affectionate and obedient, than the Natives of India resident within the limits of the City of Madras.

With all loyal and humble submission, we ask your Royal leave to subscribe ourselves your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects.

Madras:

7th December, 1858.

30. Extract from Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen's Lecture on "Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia," Calcutta, May 5, 1866.

While, through missionary agency, our country has thus been connected with the enlightened nations of the West, politically, an All-wise and All-merciful Providence has entrusted its interests to the hands of a Christian sovereign. In this significant event worldly men can see nothing but an ordinary political phenomenon, but those of you who can discern the finger of Providence in individual and national history will doubtless see here His wise and merciful interposition (Hear, hear). I cannot but reflect with grateful interest on the day when the British nation first planted their feet on the plains of India, and the successive steps by which the British Empire has been established and consolidated in this country. It is to the British Government that we owe our deliverance from oppression and misrule, from darkness and distress, from ignorance and superstition. Those enlightened ideas which have changed the very life of the nation, and have gradually brought about such wondrous improvement in Native society, are the gifts of that Government; and so likewise the inestimable boon of freedom of thought and action, which we so justly prize. Are not such considerations calculated to rouse our deepest gratitude and loyalty to the British nation and Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria? (Cheers.) Her beneficent Christian administration has proved to us not only a political, but a social and moral blessing, that laid the foundation of our national prosperity and greatness; and it is but natural that we should cherish

towards her no other feeling except that of devoted loyalty. Here, then, we stand, in the wise arrangements of Providence, Europeans and Natives, bound together by identity of political interests, and yielding common subjection to Her Gracious Majesty; and certainly God requires of us that we should so adjust our mutual relations, and fulfil our respective missions, that we may benefit each other, and harmoniously co-operate for the furtherance of our common objects.

31. Extract from a paper on "England's Duties to India" read by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at a Meeting of the E. I. Association, London, May 2, 1867.

The political condition of India before the consolidation of the British rule was the usual Oriental despotism, with all its regular attendants of disorder, want of law, want of security of property and life, and general ignorance. True it is that now and then monarchs appeared who made the welfare of the country their anxiety and duty. Well may India rejoice in some great names. But it cannot be denied that India was for a long time politically a degraded nation. The intrigues and murders in the families of the many rulers in the different parts of India, their imbecility and their utter incompetency to understand their duties towards their subjects, left the people of India without that powerful political aid which is so vital to the growth and welfare of any nation; added to this, the constant internal wars between the different rulers com-

pleted the obstacles to healthy development. War, oppression, and exaction may be said to have been the normal political condition of India.

In their moral condition the natives of India have been equally unfortunate during centuries by the influence of an ignorant priesthood, superstition, and some unfortunate institutions, such as suttee, lifelong widowhood, female infanticide, &c. Materially, India was at a standstill. The agriculturist tilled the soil, reaped the crop, lived upon it and died, just as his forefathers did thousands of years ago. The artizan worked on in the same ancestral way and line. There was utter stagnation and gradual retrogression. All desire to progress and improve, to develop the resources of the country, had completely died out; on the contrary, the wisest course was that of our "ancestors". The division into castes and distinct professions checked any growth of genius and talent, and prevention from foreign travelling checked any expansion of ideas and general knowledge. On its intellect all the above baneful causes had their full effect. The literature of thousands of years ago is the literature of which the modern Hindu is proud. He can only point to his Kalidas and his Panini, his Ramayan and his Mahabharata, his Veds and his Manu's Institutes.

Contrast with this the results of British rule. Law and order are its first blessings. Security of life and property is a recognized right of the people, and is more or less attained according to the means available, or the sense of duty of the officials to whom the sacred duty is entrusted. The native now learns and enjoys what justice between man and man means, and that law

instead of the despot's will is above all. To the onlightenment of the country the results of the universities and educational establishments bear witness. In place of the old general darkness and ignorance thousands of natives have derived, and millions will derive hereafter, the benefit of the highest degree of enlightenment which man has attained. In meterial progress it can be easily seen what impulso will be given to the development of the natural resources of the country by railways, cannls, public roads, &c., and, above ell, by the introduction of English enterprise generelly. The social elevation of the people, their rescue from some of the most horrible rites ever known to menkind, and the better sense of domestic, social, and religious duties awakened in them, nre boons of the highest importance to a nation sunk for centuries in a debesing superstition. The last but not the least of the benefits which Indin is deriving at the hands of the British is the new political lifo they ere bsing inspired with. They are learning the most important lesson of the highest political condition that n netion can espire to. The freedom of speech which the natives are now learning the necessity of, and are enjoying, and with which the natives can now talk to their rulers fece to face for what they want, is another invaluable blessing.

32. Extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen on "England and India" in the Caloutta Town Hall, February 2, 1870.

More then a century hes elepsed since the bettle of Plessey laid the foundation of the British Empire

in India. It is interesting to see how a small company of English merchants, who originally came out here with the sole object of extending British commerce to the East, eventually succeeded in making the British power paramount in this country. The conquest achieved is, indeed, wonderful,—such as eclipses even the glory of Rome. I do not point to the external pomp and splendour of administration or to brilliant triumphs achieved by the sword. It is the conquest of mind effected in India which invests British rule with undying glory. History furnishes no parallel to the stupendous and lasting monuments of intellectual and moral conquest which England has raised here, and it is these which must ever excite our deepest admiration and gratitude. A great nation has been revived and roused from death-like sleep. What was India in ancient times? Her early literature and theology, metaphysics and astronomy, which have extorted the admiration of all succeeding ages, and are held in high estimation by the best antiquarians of the present day, proclaim the pre-eminent greatness of the early Hindus and prove that they were a noble race. The venerable Rishi of ancient India, sitting under the shade of his favourite tree, indulged in profound contemplations of the Deity, and enjoyed secret communion with the Supreme One, and he led a life of unimpeachable purity. Even Hindu ladies applied themselves to theological and literary pursuits, and took part in public ceremonies and undertaking and they have left monuments of their intelligence and devotion which put to shame many of the boasted productions of their more refined sisters of the present day. Such was the condi-

tion of the early Hindus. But gradually idolatry in hundred hideous forms, priestcraft, superstition and caste came in, degraded, debased and demoralised that noble race, and reduced it to a pitiable condition. Mahomedan oppression and misrule at last completed the scene of moral and intellectual desolation, already so horrid. Deep gloom then overspread the length and breadth of the country, and there was not a star in the firmament to shade a redeeming ray of hope. At this crisis, God's merciful Providence interposed, and administered the needful help. Fallen India cried for help, and lo! at Heaven's bidding, England hastened to her rescue. If here you do not recognize the finger of Providence; if you do not vividly perceive the direct operation of God's special mercy for the salvation of nations, I do not know where you will. It is true that apparently the affair has no religious significance. The earliest English adventurers in India were actuated by purely worldly motives; they came out for lucre's sake. Nevertheless, the contact of England with India was Providential, and not a mere accident. I do most devoutly believe that it was for the definite purpose of helping this country that the English were commissioned and deputed to come and rule here; that divine purpose has been consistently carried out in spite of human errors and immoralities which were apparent in the matter.

33. Extract from a speech of Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen delivered in a Welcome Soiree held at the Hanover-square Rooms, London, April 12, 1870.

When India lay sunk in the mire of idolatry and

superstition, when Mahomedan oppression and misrule had almost extinguished the last spark of hope in the native Indian mind, when Hinduism, once a pure system of Monotheism, had degenerated into a most horrid and abominable system of idolatry and polytheism, when the priests were exceedingly powerful, and were revelling in their triumphs over down-trodden humanity, the Lord in His mercy sent out the British nation to rescue India. (Cheers.) In obedience to God's injunction, England came and knocked at the doors of India, and said, "Noble sister, rise! thou hast slept too long." And India rose. The invitation was Providential, and the response too. India rose from her lethargy of ages, and saw the degraded condition into which she had sunk, and asked England for help; and the help so much needed has been given. Certainly the earlier British rulers in Hindustan were corrupt, certainly the means often employed by the early settlers were questionable, but I look not to the human agency that was employed, but dive beneath it, and see the finger of the All-wise Providence working for the redemption of my country. I forget and forgive all that individual Englishmen did to injure the cause of Indian redemption, and, standing upon the universal basis of humanity, see how in history God employed special agencies to elevate and exalt my countrymen. (Cheers.) England and India became thus connected by an overruling Providence. In the course of time England felt the responsibility of her position as the ruler of India, and became connected with her in the closest ties of political and moral relationship. A stream was opened which connected England and India,

intellectually, socially, morally, and religiously, and all the refined and liberal ideas of the West came through this great channel into the East, into India. There are signs of new life on all sides in India, from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. You see a new nation, rising up, as it were, with new aspirations, holier and loftier thoughts, pursuits, and speculations. We can now sympathise with you (Englishmen) in all your intellectual pursuits and speculations. Your philosophy and science are ours. Thus we are one in thought. It is not merely the same Government that rules us, it is not merely the same generous-hearted and noble Sovereign whose sway we all acknowledge, but we are at the same time one in heart and thought;—politically united, we are also intellectually united. (Cheers.) When I say, "Long live Her most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria," I feel that my words are reverberated throughout the length and breadth of India, and that all my educated countrymen join with me in wishing prosperity and health to that great Queen from whom we have received so many and such rich blessings. (Applause.) England has already achieved wonders in correcting prejudices and dispelling the ignorance of my country. England's intellectual conquests in India are of a remarkable character.....The material, social, and intellectual improvements already achieved by England in India are lasting monuments of her rule. "These are thy trophies, Queen of many Isles!" The grandest achievement of all, however, is the moral and religious reformation of the country.

34. Extracts from a speech of Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen delivered at Bombay on his return from England, Oct. 18, 1870.

Let the millions of my countrymen, Hindoos, Parsees, Mahomedans, all races and sects and denominations of India, believe that Providence has, for noble, benevolent, and wise purposes, entrusted their destinies to England, and that good will eventually come out of such political connection. England is bound to govern our country for the good of our people. Those days are gone by never to return when men thought of holding India at the point of the bayonet—those dark days are gone by when men thought of closing all public schools and colleges in order to prevent the rise of independent thought, the growth of independent public opinion, in Native society. Men are beginning to feel that India is a solemn trust, that the English out in India are acting simply as trustees, responsible and accountable to that God who placed India in their hands for the welfare of the country. (Applause.) God will not tolerate a Government at this time of the day based on principles other than those which we recognize as the principles of justice and benevolence. (Applause.) Against disloyalty I loudly and vehemently protest. Be loyal to the Queen and to the British Government. Be thankful to all those, whether men and women of your own country, or men or women of England, who have in any way done you good. Let not our enemies, let not our friends say that we are wanting in gratitude. Let all India unite in one chorus of sweet and unanimous gratitude, flowing

towards God as an appreciation on the part of the whole nation of the blessings that have been conferred upon the people by foreign nations. (Applause.)

35. Extract from a leader of the "Hindoo Patriot," the leading Indian paper of the time, deploring and condemning the assassination of Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, February 26, 1872.

Somebody, we believe, describes the Russian Government to be absolute despotism tempered by assassinations. But Lord Mayo, we might say, correctly described the character of the British Government in India, when he said in effect in one of his now ever memorable speeches in the Legislative Council last year, that it was an absolute despotism tempered by public opinion. As years roll on, this character of British rule in India is more and more developed. It is certainly despotic in form and action, but it is a despotism, which does not seek to smother public opinion or repress popular feeling. It keeps a healthy watch over public opinion, indeed it nurses the growth of public opinion, and every year bears testimony to concessions to public opinion. It was only the other day we read in the papers that a parcel of school-boys had been deported to Siberia by the Russian Government for presuming to ask for the liberty of the press. Such an act we feel satisfied would be repelled with indignation by the British Government. Indeed, Her Majesty's subjects in India enjoy more freedom of speech and writing than the French or the Russians

under their national Government. There are certainly shortcomings of the British Government in India, and grave shortcomings too; we cannot deny that there is dissatisfaction, even discontent among the people, no matter whether or no with good reasons; but nothing of the sort which lead them, as in Russia, to seek to limit the absolute despotism of the Indian Government by assassinations. They are fully sensible of the great blessings it has conferred upon them, and though they may chafe, murmur or cry, when they are pinched by this tax or that, when they are oppressed by this officer or that, or rudely shaken by this measure or that, they are still thoroughly conscious that they never had a better Government. They not only feel the might of the arms, which have tied into a bond of political union and administrative control the diversified races and nations of India, equal to a continent, which had been utterly unknown in ages past, but they are fully alive to the grave calamity which would befall the country were this mighty hand taken away. There may be individual malcontents, whose ambition finds no outlet under the stern rule of the British, which in the language of the Bangali proverb makes the tiger and the cow drink of the same stream, there may be even cliques, if not classes, which secretly cherish and wish for the overthrow of the Queen's Government, but they are mere mosquitoes, the bite of which ought not to raise a serious thought. The heart of the nation is sound to the core; it had a fiery ordeal during the Sepoy Mutiny, and it came out quite unscathed. Deeply as we deplore the late assassinations, we should still more regret if it were for a moment supposed that they are the expression

of the feelings of the people at large towards the British Government.

36. The speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Kristodas Pal (the Editor of the "Hindoo Patriot") at the Calcutta Trades' Dinner, February 1, 1875.

Master of the Trades Association and Gentlemen—
I thank you most heartily and sincerely for again inviting me to this your very interesting annual re-union, and again allowing me the privilege of acknowledging the compliment to the Native Press. Last year, as several speakers, who have preceded me, have reminded you, we met under the shadow of a dire calamity threatening millions of my fellow-countrymen with starvation and death, but thanks to the All-Merciful Providence, the sore trial with which it had pleased Him to visit us, has ended; the gloom which hung over us has given place to sunshine; the anxiety and sorrow, which it brought us have been succeeded by the hope that cheers, and the joy that gladdens. (Cheers.) Plenty now smiles over the land and the poor men, women, and children, who, pinched by that dread enemy, hunger, had last year by thousands and tens of thousands crowded at the relief centres for the doily pittance to keep their body and soul together, have with the return of Nature's favour, gone back to their homes and avocations. Gentlemen, we hear much of the want of sympathy between the European and the Native, but whatever may be the feelings of individuals, no one can

deny that the British Government and the British nation have shewn a most lively and generous sympathy for their Indian subjects in this hour of adversity, and I can assure you that my countrymen feel deeply grateful for it. (Hear, hear.) Rich as you are in the traditions of your prowess and power, nothing can exceed the glory of the trophy, which the Indian Government has achieved in fighting so skilfully and successfully the battle of humanity. While history records the triumphs of British arms at Assaye and Laswaree, on the plains of Chillianwalla and Loodiana, in the re-capture of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow, in the memorable war of the Sepoy Mutiny, no page in the annals of British progress in the East will shine with greater lustre than that in which she will chronicle the brilliant achievements accomplished in the campaign against the Bengal Famine of 1874—with the calm courage, untiring energy, and noble self-sacrifice with which all from the highest to the lowest worked in this good cause. (Cheers). Here was a demonstration of sympathy not confined by geographical boundaries or partitions of race and religion, not flowing from the lip, but gushing from the heart, not shewn to the rich who could always exact their dues, but the poor and forlorn, to dumb millions, who could not speak, whose voice could not reach their august rulers, but who, in the heart of their hearts, blessed the fatherly hand that gave them rice while they were hungry, and water while they were thirsty. (Cheers.) Such sympathy constitutes the golden chain, which will securely bind India to England, despite the storm of political tumult and the war of foreign aggression. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, the place which you

have assigned for several years past to the Native Press in your toasts implies that you have confidence in that press, and I thank you for it not only on my own behalf, but also on behalf of the whole body of my brethren of the Native Press. Until the advent of the British, as the proposer of the toast has rightly observed, the press as an institution, as a vehicle of the thoughts, sentiments and feelings of the nation was unknown in this country; the tongue was always tied under the Oriental Government: the people, when oppressed beyond endurance, did not resort to the pen, but the sword for the vindication of their rights. But under the happy auspices of the British Government that state of things has changed. (Hear, hear.) There is now no restraint upon the tongue or pen of the Indian to express his inmost thoughts, to represent his grievances, to seek for redress, so long as he does not forget his duty as a loyal subject of the Queen. (Cheers.) And I am proud to say that whatever may be the shortcomings of the Native Press, it has rarely been found wanting in that prime qualification for the liberty which it enjoys, I mean loyalty to the Crown. Gentlemen, I need not urge upon you difficulties which beset the conductors of the Native Press. They are inseparable from the government of this country by a foreign nation. However intelligent, sagacious, and sympathetic, the English in India labor under a peculiar disadvantage. Though descended from the same stock which, in the dawn of human history, sent forth its teeming millions westward to people Europe and southward to people India, they are for all practical purposes alien by birth, language, customs, and religion: they are necessarily perplexed in master-

ing the complicated problems of Indian administration, and are consequently under the necessity of employing interpreters to interpret the rulers to the ruled and *vice versa*. Marvellous as has been the success of British rule in the East, I believe I do not exaggerate when I say, and I am glad to find my statement corroborated by our distinguished Foreign Secretary, that success could hardly have been achieved if the English rulers of India had not from the beginning availed themselves of Indian experience, Indian counsel, and Indian co-operation. The Indian holds the key, wherewith to open the gate of the East, and if our Western rulers had not used that key, not all the bayonets and guns of England, not all her countless treasures, would have sufficed to build up her magnificent Eastern Empire, justly prized as the brightest jewel in her diadem. The conductors of the Native press are the unpaid interpreters of the Government and the nation: they may be misinformed, misled, and mistaken, but they act in good faith, and endeavour to interpret the Governors to the governed and the governed to the Governors, loyally and faithfully. In discharging their duties it not often falls to their lot to expose abuses and oppressions to lay bare the failings of individual officers, and to criticize unreservedly both measures and men, and in doing so, they not unfrequently incur the displeasure, I regret to add sometimes, the personal hostility of those upon whose co-operation they tread, and possibly the hue and cry now and then raised against the Native Press proceeds from these sources. But I believe really thoughtful and enlightened Englishmen, who care more for the character and permanency of British rule as an engine of good for the

millions under its sway, than for their own temporary and limited interests like such outspokenness, though the language may resemble the feeble utterances of those who have but learnt to lisp. If the Native Press were to circulate only tales of adulation, what would the Government or the people gain? For my part I believe that the real usefulness of the Native Press consists in an unvarnished statement of facts, illustrative of the working of the laws of the action of the vast administrative machinery, and the under-current of the social and political feelings of the people directed by such laws and actions—facts which the Government and the European public have no other means of ascertaining, and if it sometimes errs in making such statements, there are many forces at work for its correction. But, Gentlemen, bear in mind that the Native Press of India is a plant peculiarly entitled to your fostering care; it has grown from a seed which has been brought from the west: the manure which has contributed to its growth is derived from that fertilizing knowledge which Englishmen have diffused in this country—it is a knowledge drawn not from your books only, but also from your precepts, from your examples, from your personal influences, and if the tree now presents a goodly appearance, the glory is the greater to you to whom it owes its existence, to the liberality of your principles, to the kindness of your feelings, and to the high-minded statesmanship, which characterize your rule of this country. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, this is not the place to exchange with Jupiter Junior the thunderbolts which he has thought fit to hurl against the Native Press, but permit me to say that he is about as well-informed of

the circulation as of the politics of the *Patriot*.
(Laughter and Loud Cheers).

37. Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Kristodas Pal at a Public Meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, (31st July, 1875) to do honor to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on his intended visit to India.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

The resolution, which has been entrusted to me, is an eminently practical one, and does not therefore need many words from me to commend it to your approval. It names a certain number of public-spirited gentlemen, as representatives of the different sections of the varied community of this city, to accept the high commission of making suitable arrangements for giving a reception to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, such as would prove worthy of that illustrious and Royal visitor, worthy of our gracious Sovereign, who will be represented in his person, and worthy of the name and fame of the metropolis of British India (cheers). It will be the office of this committee to give shape to our thoughts, expression to our feelings, and body to our deeds, and I must say that they cannot have a pleasanter task to perform (cheers). Whatever difference may exist between Englishmen and Indians as regards language, customs, habits and religion, it is undeniable that both are animated by an all-pervading sentiment of loyalty to their common Sovereign (cheers); if Englishmen are proud of their Queen on account of the many private and public virtues that adorn her character, the Indians are profoundly grateful to her for the many blessings which

have been conferred upon them under Her Majesty's beneficent rule (cheers). The feeling of loyalty, I need hardly remind you, is deeply rooted in the Hindoos' breast; you have heard just now that devotion to the sovereign is inculcated as a solemn and sacred duty in his religious books; there is not a ceremony performed by him in which he does not make an offering to the ruling power in the land; the king has indeed a place near the gods; even if he professes a foreign religion that does not detract from his importance, for did not the Hindoos in the days of the Mogul Emperors chant about *Delhisarova Jaggadishwarova* the "Lord of Delhi! the Lord of the Universe"! (cheers)—and the Queen of England is now the Empress of Hindoostan.—She, over whose dominions it is truly said the sun never sets, reigns where the Great Mogul once held sway, and claims the homage which was once paid to him (cheers). And how willingly is that homage rendered unto her? She stands forth as the representative of a power which has re-kindled the East with the light that had been borrowed from it to relume the West; which has, with the extension of its arms, extended the arts and commerce of civilized life wherever it has gone; which has resuscitated the dead bones of the ancient civilization of India, breathed the breath of life into its inert masses, given a healthy impulse to their legitimate aspirations for social and political advancement, and enabled them to enjoy the fruits of their honest labour the yield of their enterprise and the rights of humanity and the citizenship of a free state in peace and tranquillity, with perfect liberty, and with the utmost advantage (cheers). But it is not as a constitutional

sovereign only Her Majesty receives the homage of her subjects in the East. If I may venture to say, Queen Victoria is the Hindu's *beau ideal* of a monarch (cheers). The mistress of an Empire, the like of which, in extent, power and grandeur is not met with in history, in her shine with the greatest lustre the good qualities which become a sovereign and grace the daughter of Eve (cheers). Devoted and faithful to the Crown she wears, kind and affectionate to her subjects, attached to her family and children, charitable to the poor, delighting in the luxury of doing good in stealth, pious but without pomp, she is equally loved and respected by those who have the privilege of approaching her august presence and by those whom fortune has placed at far distance (cheers). In the eyes of the Hindoo the example she has set to the fair sex of Europe, since the Lord has been pleased to take away from her beloved consort, cherishing with becoming devotion, self-abnegation and humility the memory of him, who was the partner of her life, her sorrows and her joys has thrown a sacred halo round her, and the earnest solicitude with which she looks to the welfare of her Indian subjects, and a notable proof of which was afforded in her lively anxiety and handsome personal contribution last year, when Bengal was visited with a dire calamity, has taught my countrymen to regard her truly as the Queen Mother (cheers). The eldest son of such a mother, who will one day succeed her on the throne—may that day be long distant!—our Crown Prince, who according to all accounts, is a prince every inch, is about to visit her Indian Empire, to study its condition, its people, its resources and its institu-

tions, and you may well imagine that nothing will gratify her more than to know that her Indian subjects has given His Royal Highness a right loyal welcome (cheers). Hitherto the Majesty of England was to the people of India impersonal, invisible, impalpable—a sort of metaphysical property, a mere sound, an echo, but now they will have the happiness of realizing bodily in the person of their royal visitor what was, as it were, a structure of their imagination (cheers). The manifestations of joy with which the welcome intelligence of this auspicious event has been received in this country, are an earnest of the enthusiasm with which that event will be celebrated by all classes of Her Majesty's subjects through the length and breadth of this vast Empire; and I do fervently hope that when His Royal Highness returns to his native isle, he will be in a position to tell her dear mother and our beloved Queen how cordially, cheerfully, and loyally was he received by her Indian subjects, how deeply attached are they to her benign sceptre, and how earnestly do they pray for the continuance of her beneficent sway, protecting the weak, relieving the wronged, helping the helpless, encouraging the good, and diffusing the blessings of peace, prosperity, and contentment. (Loud cheers).

38. Address of welcome by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on his arrival, 9th November, 1875.

May it please Your Royal Highness.—We, the Chairman and members of the Municipal Corporation of

Bombay, esteem it a high privilege to be allowed in the name of the Corporation, and of all the inhabitants of this City, to greet Your Royal Highness at your landing on the shore of India, with an address of loyal welcome. We rejoice that Your Royal Highness should have selected Bombay as the starting point of your Indian travels; for this city is in itself, perhaps, the most striking example India can present of the beneficial results that may be produced by the impact of Western civilization on Oriental character and institutions; and of the success that may attend earnest and judicious efforts to reconcile all the various races of this country to British rule. Bombay may lay claim to the distinction of being a royal city; for this Island first became an appanage of the Crown of England through forming part of the dowry of Charles the Second's Portuguese bride, and during the two centuries that have since elapsed, Bombay has had every reason to be grateful for this fortunate change in her destiny. From a barren rock whose only wealth consisted in cocoanuts and dried fish, whose scanty population of 10,000 souls paid a total revenue to the State of not more than £6,000 a year; whose trade was of less value than that of a Tanna and Bassien, and whose climate was so deadly to Europeans, that two monsoons were said to be the life of a man; she has blossomed into a fair and wholesome city, with a population which makes her rank next to London among the cities of the British Empire. With a Municipal Revenue amounting to £300,000 a year, and with a foreign commerce worth forty-five millions sterling and yielding in customs' duties to the Imperial Treasury three millions a year. All this mate-

rial prosperity she owes to the strong and wise Government which has secured her in the enjoyment of peace and order, of equality before the law, of religious liberty, and of freedom of trade, and which has thus given confidence to men of all races and creeds, Europeans, Indo-Portuguese, Hindoos, Mahomedane, Parsees and Jews, to pursue their various callings under the shadow of the British flag. We gladly therefore seize the occasion of Your Royal Highness's presence amongst us, to record our sense of the blessings of British rule, and to assure Your Royal Highness of our devotion to that throne which has become the enduring symbol of concord, liberty, prosperity, and progress, to all the multitude of nations that own the benign sway of Queen Victoria. We beg that Your Royal Highness will convey to Her most Gracious Majesty the expression of our loyal sentiments, and of our gratification that Her Majesty has sent the Heir to the Crown amongst us to become personally acquainted with the people of India. We regret that Your Royal Highness's Consort the Princess of Wales, so much and so deservedly beloved by the English people has not been able to accompany Your Royal Highness on this journey, to learn for herself in what honor her name is held in India. We pray that the God of all nations may watch over Your Royal Highness, and bring your happy design of visiting India, of which we to-day witness the auspicious commencement, to as happy a conclusion; so that it may be blessed with good fruit hereafter, in the strengthening of the ties of mutual interest, esteem, goodwill, which already bind the Imperial State of Great Britain to its greatest dependency.

39. Leader in the "Hindoo Patriot" welcoming H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on his arrival in Calcutta on behalf of the inhabitants of Bengal. (December 27, 1875.).

May it Please Your Royal Highness.

On behalf of the people of Bengal we respectfully and cordially welcome Your Royal Highness to these shores. If it has been the dream of your life to see the "gorgeous East," it was beyond our dream to expect that the Heir Apparent to an empire on which the sun never sets, would condescend to visit this distant dependency.

Different minds give different interpretations to the motives of Royal Highness' visit, but whatever Your Royal Highness' object, whether it be an enlightened curiosity, a love of manly and rational pleasure, or a noble resolve to study the history, traditions and real condition of the many millions of this country, whom You may one day be called upon to rule, to us the Royal visit is fraught with the most momentous consequences.

Since the bloody events of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 never was the pulse of national life whether in England or in India more stirred than now. In England the excitement would seem to be so great as if a new world had been discovered. So many members of the intellectual phalanx of England had never before come to India to chronicle an event, however important, in the Eastern world. Your Royal Highness has been an eye-witness of the gushing enthusiasm of the people in welcoming their Queen's eldest son and future Emperor.

The loyal demonstrations made by our countrymen, wherever Your Royal Highness has trodden the soil, will doubtless have convinced Your Royal Highness how truly loyal are they, how sincerely attached to the Queen's rule and person, and how profoundly grateful to the British Government for the manifold blessings, which it has conferred upon them. They are often calumniated by self-seekers, their loyalty not unfrequently questioned and carped at by them, and their character misrepresented and malignod, but Your Royal Highness, we hope and trust, has had abundant evidence of the malignity of the misrepresentations referred to. The enthusiasm, with which Your Royal Highness has been received in all the towns and cities, which you have yet been able to visit, cannot be a mere outward show; such a loud enthusiasm must have a deep seat in the heart; surely if the people did not feel a national and rational interest in Your Royal Progress, they would not have gone to so much expense and trouble to demonstrate it. It cannot be an idle curiosity, which has drawn hundreds of thousands of people from distant villages and territories to the capital cities to render homage to their future Emperor. Many as are the shortcomings of the British Government in India as an institution, the people of India are deeply sensible of the numerous blessings which it has conferred upon them, blessings, which we doubt could have been bestowed by any other European nation, whether it be the French with their volatile temper and lax political ethics, the Russians with their "Knout and rod", typified in the iron rule of the Czar even at home, and the Germans without a spark of generous sympathy in

the government of foreign nations. The English nation with all its faults is a noble nation—it is on the whole just, frank and generous; it is true that in distant latitudes it somehow degenerates, and we have proofs of such degeneracy in this country, but even the degenerate English Gentleman has far more generous sympathies than a man of the same class from other countries of Europe.

Four months' stay cannot surely enable Your Royal Highness to study India to any purpose or gain a full insight into the complicated problems of its administration, nor are the circumstances under which Your Royal Highness, as becoming your high rank, is making your royal progress, calculated to qualify Your Royal Highness to know the real truth about the country. Whenever you go a varnish is put on—nothing is presented to Your Royal Highness in naked reality. The whole empire has undergone a new white wash in order to please the Royal eyes—the view presented to Your Royal Highness is a huge fiction. Possibly from the glorious sights, which Your Royal Highness has seen, Your Royal Highness may conclude that this is a land flowing with plenty and prosperity, but in reality the country is very poor—the majority of the people can hardly live from hand to mouth. Possibly the universal rejoicings with which Your Royal Highness has been welcomed may impress your mind with the belief that the people are quite content, but nothing could be a graver mistake than that. The people are content with the Queen's Rule as an abstract fact or a political condition; they do not wish for any change of rule or dynasty; nevertheless they feel deeply the insolence of office, the invidious

distinction of race made not so much in personal intercourse by the heads of Government as by the representatives of the ruling power in the districts in the practical administration of the country supported no doubt by their official superiors from motives of policy; the absence of any sympathy except in rare cases between the rulers and the ruled; the high hand with which the administration is not unfrequently carried on regardless of the feelings, sentiments and wishes of the governed; and above all the open inconsistency of the practices of the actual rulers of the country with the noble professions and behests of the Queen's Government.

We deeply regret that although Your Royal Highness has come to see the people of India a wide gulf has been placed between Your Royal Highness and the people at large—a wider gulf than ordinarily exists between Englishmen and Indians. Your Royal Highness has only seen cities under colors, white wash, and glowing lights—they are no index to the real condition of the cities themselves, or of the distant and rustic villages. We beseech Your Royal Highness to remember this fact, this moral truth, when you will render an account of your visit to your Queen Mother. Your Mother is our Mother, and Your Royal Highness will doubtless tell her that all that you have seen so glittering is not gold.

We do not say all this by way of disparagement of any particular ruler or district officer. It is the system and policy, for which no one is individually or solely responsible, which has produced the resultant forces, that repress the national aspirations and fill the national heart with distress. It is not our purpose to enquire

whose fault it is—it is our object to state the plain truth. Much has doubtless been done by the present Government to throw oil over troubled waters, but more remains to be done. India has spent millions of money to celebrate your auspicious advent, and she will consider herself amply repaid, if this visit leads to a lively and really effective sympathy with her condition in the breasts of her Gracious Sovereign, Your Royal Highness, and the ruling class generally.

May Providence grant Your Royal Highness health, crown all your desires, and bless your voyage home is our humble and earnest prayer!

40. Extract from the Address of the Mahomedan Literary Society to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, January, 1878.

The overthrow of our Indian Mahomedan dynasties by the conduct and valour of the British nation is recent enough to have left behind some memories of the glories of some of our Moslem rulers. But the justice, humanity, and universal toleration of the British nation have obliterated the past for us; and, in accordance with the instincts of our human nature, we longed for the moment when he could, as now, regarding your Royal Highness as representing our Gracious Sovereign, look upon the object of our most precious love and reverence.

41. Extract from a Leader of the "Hindoo Patriot" on "Russia's Policy," November 20, 1878.

But at the same time we cannot ignore Russia's policy to domineer over the East. She has been at the

bottom of the Rebellion in Turkey. The history of that Rebellion sbews that it is Russian advice, Russian intrigue, and Russian arms and skill which have given the war in Turkey the present proportion and magnitude, and we now see that Russia openly aims at the occupation of Turkey.

In the East Russia has not been idle. She is essaying to bring the Amir of Cabul under his influence completely.....

In this crisis how will European Powers act. England turns to Prussia.....But Germany has as yet made no sound whatever.

We in India have a deep stake in the stability of the British Power in the East. Our fortunes are bound up with those of England. However we may criticize particular measures of the British Government in India or the attitude of particular officers of Government towards the people or the princes of India, the existence of British rule is the only security for peace, order and progress in this country. We are aware that there is discontent among the people, but we believe we can say without a fear of contradiction that even the worst malcontent does not want a change of rule. Russian domination they know well will not remove their grievances; on the contrary it will make their position far worse. Perhaps the feeling among them is not that Russia should take this country but that the proximity of the Russian Bear may induce the British Lion to show that magnanimity which is inherent in its character, but which is sometimes forgotten. Be that as it may, we can tell our countrymen that under the rule of no other European Power are

they destined to enjoy greater privileges and advantages than what they now enjoy under the benign influence of the English nation. We hope the day will not come when the British Lion and the Russian Bear will fight each other for the Indian booty, but should that calamitous day ever come our duty is plain. The princes and peoples of India should range themselves under the British banner and expel the Muscovite. If there is any nation of Europe which has an innate love of justice and fair play, it is the English nation, take it all in all.

42. Extracts from the speech of Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen on "Philosophy & Madness in Religion," Calcutta, March 3, 1877.

Do you not recognise the finger of special providence in the progress of nations? Assuredly the record of British Rule in India is not a chapter of profane history, but of ecclesiastical history.

The book which treats of the moral, social and religious advancement of our great country with the help of Western science, under the paternal rule of the British Nation, is indeed a sacred book. There we see clearly that it is Providence that rules India through England. (Applause.)

'At Delhi, on the day of the assumption of the imperial title by our Sovereign, did not the eye of the faithful believer see that God Himself stretched His right hand and placed the Empress' Crown upon Victoria's head? (Loud cheers.) And did he not hear the Lord God say unto her: "Rule thy subjects with justice and truth and mercy, according to the light given unto thee and thy advisers, and let righteousness and

peace and prosperity dwell in the Empire?" (Applause.)

Who can deny that Victoria is an instrument in the hands of Providence to elevate this degraded country in the scale of nations, and that in her hands the solemn trust has been most solemnly reposed? Glory then to Empress Victoria! (Applause.)

Educated countrymen, you are bound to be loyal to your Divinely-appointed sovereign. Not to be loyal argues base ingratitude and absence of faith in Providence. You are bound to be loyal to the British Government, that came to your rescue, as God's ambassador, when your country was sunk in ignorance and superstition and hopeless jejuneness, and has since lifted you to your present high position. This work is not of man, but of God, and He has done it, and is doing it, through the British nation.

As His chosen instruments, then, honour your sovereign and the entire ruling body with fervent loyalty. The more loyal we are, the more we shall advance with the aid of our rulers in the path of moral, social, and political reformation.

43. Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Kristodas Pal at the Calcutta Trades Association's Dinner, February, 1878.

Master, Wardens and Gentlemen.—On behalf of myself and my brethren of the Native Press, I thank you most heartily for the enthusiasm with which you have drunk this toast, and my friend the proposer for the honor he has done by coupling my name with it,

and for the very flattering terms in which he has kindly epoken of me. By a beneficent dispensation of Providence, England and India have been united in a happy bond, no less for the good of the governing country than for that of its distant dependancy, and our auspicious meeting to-night is a symbol of that union. It is a common saying, union is strength, and in India the union of the two races is the essence of social and political life. In the varied occupations of every-day existence, neither the Indian nor the European in this country can fight the battle of life without mutual aid, mutual co-operation, and mutual sympathy (cheers).....The destinies of the two are also bound up with those of each other. India is the glory of England, and England the strength of India. (Hear, hear.) England cannot now withdraw from India without darkening the halo which surrounds her, and India cannot suffer the separation without a pause to that quickening impulse, which has revived her national life and resuscitated her national energy (cheers). The union of the two is thus essential to their mutual existence, and what could be a nobler sight than to see the children of both, recognising their mutual relationship, forget the differences of race, religion, and feeling, and work in harmony and sympathy for mutual good and happiness? (Hear, hear.) So far as this annual reunion of the Trades' Association serves to tie the representatives of the two classes in a bond of social friendship and civic amity, I look upon it as a moral force of the highest value (cheers).

Gentlemen, addressing as I do a company of Englishmen, with whom freedom of speech and writing is their birth-right, I need not expatiate on the ad-

vantages of a Free Press. In this country the Government by reason of its peculiar position is despotic; but it is a despotism tempered—not by red tape, telegram or telephone as humorously remarked by my friend Mr. Mackenzie (laughter)—but by public opinion, and the Press is the exponent of that opinion. (Hear, hear.) According to the estimates of various speakers to-night, our Councils may be shams, our Municipal Committees may be shams, but our Press, I make bold to say, is *not* a sham (cheers). The Indian Press, both European and Native, is a living reality. There may be those, as my friend Mr. Knight said, who may choose to argue that there is no such thing as public opinion in India, and who are perhaps not slow to repress it if they can, but the public in India do think, do feel, and do speak as the public in other civilized countries, and if the Press is not strong, it is not because the cause it advocates is weak, the principles it enunciates are weak, but because the sympathy it receives from the powers that be is neither sufficient nor strong. The Press in this country has always had an uphill work. It won its freedom by battling long, bravely and fiercely with inveterate prejudices, unbending exclusiveness, and ruthless intolerance. But it has steadily made its way, and held its own. Time was, as remarked by my friend Mr. Wyman, when Indian Journalism was looked down upon as a degrading calling, when knights of the quill—I hope my friend who has preceded me will not consider this as a pinch upon him—(laughter)—were hunted out as so many pariahs of Indian society, but a better day has dawned upon us. Few there are, I do not hesitate to say, who would now dare deny the

just claims of the leaders of the Press (cheers). Some of the ornaments of the Indian Press have come from the ranks of the great services, which rule the destinies of the country. I am glad to be able to say that our humble efforts to represent public opinion have not been without some reward; if the Press constitutes the Fourth Estate in the United Kingdom, the Indian Press after years of toil and trouble, has come to be recognised as an Ally of the State in the good government of the country. (Hear, hear.) Under the auspices of the noble statesman, now at the head of the Government, himself a *chevalier le plume*, and an hereditary champion of letters, the relationship of the Government with the Press, as has been already remarked by Mr. Knight, has been placed on a far more satisfactory footing than before. To that august assembly of pro-consuls, princes and nobles of the land at Delhi on the 1st January, 1877, when the auspicious event of the assumption of the Imperial title by Her Gracious Majesty the Queen was celebrated, his Lordship did not hesitate to invite the humble scribes of the Press as his own guests. (Hear, hear.) Since then, seeing that the Press cannot circulate the truth unless it knows the truth, his Lordship has made special arrangements under the direction of a well-known laborer in the field of journalism, to place at the disposal of the leading journals of the country early information and important papers about State matters. I hope the generous spirit, which has dictated this alliance between the Government and the Press, will pervade the whole ruling body throughout the country, and that the paid servants of the Crown will co-operate with its unpaid servants, the

conductors of the Press, in advancing the common cause —I mean the good of the people (cheers).

One word more. In the general prosperity which has attended the Indian Press, and which has been so well described by my friend, Mr. Wyman, the Native Press has been a humble participator. Compare its position and prospects twenty years ago with the same to-day, and I believe you will allow that it has made a rapid and cheering advance—advance in number, strength, knowledge, character, tone and influence. It has certainly faults, of which I am fully conscious, but time, example, and friendliness will correct them. (Hear, hear.) Human nature is human nature all the world over, and it is no wonder that when the self-love of men, whether in power or otherwise, is wounded, they should smart or grow restive. Hence it is, I am afraid, that the Native Press is now and then sharply criticized, but I do not complain of this; I think that those who are accustomed to hit ought not to complain when they are hit back (laughter), for criticism is always healthful; let it be fair, reasonable, just, and if you like generous criticism. A handsome testimony to the usefulness and influence of the Native Press has just come from a gentleman, whom we all respect, I allude to Sir James Stephen. In his second letter to the *Times* in reply to Mr. Bright, Sir James says: "I have known numerous cases in which statements in native papers led to enquiry, and several in which they influenced legislation. To my own personal knowledge various sections in particular Acts were inserted in consequence of articles in native papers." In the field of journalism as in other walks of life, the Indian, as well as the European, as

I have said at the outset, need each other's co-operation and sympathy. I am glsd to see that a spirit of mutual co-operation is springing up among the members of the European and the Native Press, and I hope it will go on and strengthen. (Hear, hear.) The progress of the Native Press is a proud monument of English civilization in the East: and if no unkind hand cuts it short, it is destined to prove a mighty regenerator of India. (Hear, hear.) It is now our turn to borrow from you the light that travelled from the East to the West; spare it not, stint it not, shut it not from us! (Loud and continued cheers).

44. Leader in the "Hindoo Patriot" on "India's duty to England," April 8, 1878.

Although the situation in Europe, according to Reuter, is uncertain, still the tone of the later telegrams seems to be pacific, and war between England and Russia, as we sincerely and earnestly hope, may be averted.....

But supposing that the worst should come to the worst, that a war should break out between England and Russia, what should India do in the crisis? Her duty to the governing country is plain. In the preceding article we have seen how England's situation is viewed in the Colonies, and what likelihood is there of their coming to the help of the mother country. India's situation is peculiar. Although she is a loyal dependant upon England, still her loyalty we fear is not fully relied upon, because of her foreign origin. But this is a mistake. India has certainly her grievances, but so

have the colonies and even England against her ruling body. There is not a country that has not some causes of complaint, right or wrong, against the policy and measures of the Government which rules over it. But the existence or agitation of those grievancees does not imply a desire to overthrow the Government, to lay the axe at the root of order, in short to effect a revolution. Indeed, the expression of political grievances in a public manner with a view to reform and redress, is a sign of political health. It shows that the aggrieved seek redress, not by secret intrigue or combination, but by public representations in a lawful and constitutional manner. Our rulers may, therefore, rest assured that the symptoms of dissatisfaction which they notice among the princes and people of India are no symptoms of a wish for a political revolution. Far from it. Both the princes and people of India fully appreciate the order which the English have introduced, the protection and security which they have given, and the principles of progress, which they have instilled into life. The best proof of the loyalty of the princes and people of India is their feeling towards England in the present crisis. We believe we may say without a fear of contradiction that with the exception of a few bravados here and there, who have little stake in the country, and who have more to gain than to lose by a revolution, there is not a soul in India, who rightly appreciates the position but would not regret a war between England and Russia, and who, should the evil day come, would not range himself under the British banner. But should India remain passive? Should India allow her rulers only to infer that she will not swerve from

her loyalty to the British Crown? No, we think, she should give some positive assurance. In what way can she assist England in the present crisis? With men, and who have the men to spare? It is the Native Princes and Chiefs. It is true that the Native Princes have been themselves much reduced in their resources, that a short-sighted policy has imposed upon them the necessity of diminishing their forces, but still they can be of much use to the British Government in a crisis like the one, which now threatens it. We saw in 1857 what valuable help was rendered by the Native Princes to our Government. It was the Punjab Chiefs who chiefly enabled Archdale Wilson to break the neck of the revolt at Delhi. It was the heroic loyalty of Sindia, who risked his own throne for the sake of the British Government, which saved Central India. It was the fidelity of the Rajputana Chiefs, which made the restoration of tranquility in Northorn India easy. It was the active efforts of the Nizam of Hyderabad, which prevented a general conflagration in the Southern Presidency. The same princes may now offer like services in case of an attack upon India. Our Government is already making preparations to fortify its position in different parts of the country; but nothing we believe would be more pleasing than assurances of loyal support from the powerful princes of India in its present situation. Then some may assist the Government with money, if necessary. That there are loyal subjects of the Crown, who are not behind-hand in this respect, was proved in a most pleasing form the other day. Several lacks of rupees were raised by Government by private negotiations from a few individuals

without any difficulty when the cash balances went down owing to the drain consequent on the famine. Some of these gentlemen did not even charge interest. This fact shews that the feelings of the natural leaders of the people are with the Government. Then there are many natives, who are willing to serve as volunteers, but it rests with the Government whether or no it should accept their services in that form. At any rate India's duty to England in the present crisis is plain, and if the worst come to the worst, we are satisfied that the Indian subjects of the Queen will not be found wanting.

45. Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Kristodas Pal at the Calcutta Trades Association's Dinner, February, 1879.

Master and Members of the Trades Association.—Gentlemen, I was quite unprepared for the friendly call made upon me; until I had taken my seat at your festive board, I was not aware that I would be called upon to respond to the toast, which has been so ably and gracefully proposed by my friend to my left, but I will do so with great pleasure, and offer my most sincere and hearty thanks for the kind terms in which the Native Press has been mentioned, and the handsome way in which my name has been coupled with it. We have heard the warning voice of your good Master against the fleeting pace of time, and I must therefore be brief. Gentlemen, it has been my proud privilege for some years past to describe to you the progress which the Native Press has been making from year to year under the auspices of British rule, under the genial

sunshine of British co-operation, and under the invigorating influence of British example (hear, hear). I cannot look back at the history of the past year without feeling a deep pang of sorrow at the attitude assumed by the Government towards the Native Press during the year—at the blow aimed at it. The last year was one of severe trial for the Native Press—I should have said the Vernacular Press, for the law made a distinction between the English and Vernacular papers conducted by natives. This distinction was evidently based on the principle that English education was a guarantee of Indian loyalty. I am glad that the effects of English education are thus appreciated by Government. I am an advocate of English education. I hold that the wider are the blessings of English education diffused, the more effectually will the best interests of the country be subserved—(applause)—but I hope it would not be assumed that those, who had not the good fortune of receiving English education were not loyal to the British Crown. The masses, the millions, do not know English, but their hearts were loyal to the core. It could not be expected that the millions of this country could all be educated in English; indeed, no nation could attain to real greatness without a literature of its own; the masses must express their thoughts and feelings through the tongue, which they learn at their mother's breasts. The Vernacular Press was, therefore, a national necessity, and any blow aimed at it was one directed against national progress and prosperity. Happily, the cause of the Vernacular Press was amply vindicated by right-minded and enlightened men in this country, by the leaders of the English nation, by the practical action

of the Government. Like other laws, born of anger and excitement, and passed in haste, the Press Law, I hope, is destined to remain a dead letter; the moderation of the Vernacular Press has practically disarmed the action of Government, and will, I trust, have the same good effect in future (cheers). We have had a good example of the moderation of the Vernacular Press in connection with the Afghan war. There may be differences of opinion as to the equity of the war, as to the equity of charging the Indian revenue with the expenses of it, but there is one feeling among the people from one end of the country to the other regarding the progress of our operations—they all rejoice at the success of our arms on the frontier (cheers). We have heard of late a great deal about Imperialism—it has been said that the new Press Law is a manifestation of Imperialism—I do not know what meaning is attached to the word Imperialism, whether it means the Napoleonism of France, or the Bismarckism of Germany; but of one thing I am certain that if Imperialism means that the British Empire and the Indian Empire should be one in thought and feeling—if this be the Imperialism of our gracious Queen-Empress, we have nothing to fear but everything to be grateful for (cheers). But if the British Empire and the Indian Empire are to be one in thought and feeling, the same laws, the same institutions, the same influences that have raised England to the pinnacle of civilization and power and placed her in the vanguard of nations ought to be brought to bear upon India, in order to produce the same beneficial results (cheers). One word more. The Great Napoleon once taunted the British nation as a

nation of shop-keepers. This I may say is not a reproach, but should be considered a glory. These shop-keepers, it should be borne in mind, have been the pioneers of civilization in the world. They have been the store-keepers of progressive ideas and enlightened freedom. (Cheers.) The people of this country could testify what blessings the shop-keepers of England have conferred upon it. They have revived the dead bones of the Indian nation, raised it from the slough of despond, and imparted a restless impetus for progress. The shop-keepers of Calcutta—I do not use the word in an offensive sense—have set a noble example before my countrymen. They are always foremost in acts of public spirit, public beneficence, and public weal. They take an active part in local politics, and I can testify from personal knowledge how useful they have been in the deliberations of the municipal corporation of the town. If the Indian shop-keepers could imbibe their public spirit, their love of liberty, their feeling of independence, their honorable emulation in the advancement of their interests by lawful and constitutional combination and their generous support of the Press, the Indian nation would turn a new leaf in the book of its existence. (Loud cheers).

48. Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Kristodas Pal at the Calcutta Trades Association's Dinner, February, 1880.

Gentlemen, if India has been involved in a bloody war in Afghanistan, there has been a bloodless war waged on behalf of her teeming millions, both here and

in England—it is the war of public opinion. There have been recently many circumstances connected with the administration of this country, which have moved the heart-strings of the British nation, and impelled its great leaders to vindicate the trust with an earnestness, almost without a parallel in the history of India's connection with England. (Cheers.) People's William, and the nation's pride, John Bright, have been the foremost in lending their ringing and powerful eloquence to the advocacy of India's cause. That sightless but stout-hearted, champion of India, Mr. Fawcett, has been unceasing in his exertions for the advancement of that cause. That really good and great man, who wielded the Indian sceptre four years ago, with such wisdom and beneficence, for which we the people of India feel so grateful to him—I allude to Lord Northbrook (cheers)—has also contributed his share to that mighty stream of activity regarding India matters, which is now flowing in fertilising showers upon the soil of England. Opinion has been expressed in this assembly, attributing this awakening of the English mind to Indian questions to party influences, party motives, and party conflict; but we, who are vitally interested in it, trace it to a far more generous impulse, far higher influence, far nobler motive—we hail it as the voice of the awakened national conscience of England, as the throbbing of the inner heart of the great English people, as a promise of the due fulfilment of Britain's sacred mission in the East. Gentlemen, if England is great, it is not because her sons sway the sea; her banners wave over an empire in which the sun never sets, and her commerce envelopes the world; but

because she is the home of freedom, the asylum of oppressed men, the leader of hope to injured nationalities, and the prop of peoples, who have, under the mysterious working of destiny, fallen off from their high place of old, but who yet possess vitality enough to recover their pristine strength. India comes under the last category; a beneficent Providence has placed us under the shelter and care of England, and a greater glory, I venture to say, cannot crown the head of Britannia than to raise this, her elder sister, the mother of the world's ancient civilization, literature, and arts, to her primeval proud position, by the diffusion of the blessings of knowledge among her children, and by teaching them to govern themselves under the ægis of her protection. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, as England becomes more and more alive to her duty to India, the functions of the Native Press, as the interpreter between the rulers and the ruled, and *vice versa*, become more and more important, and are likely to be better appreciated. The millions of India are dumb, but the Press gives them a tongue; though poets sung and philosophers spoke, when India was under her national dynasty, and though literary activity was not unknown, when the Moslem held away over her, the people then knew not the blessings of a free press, and therefore remained mute. The right of free speech is a glorious heritage, which you, Englishmen, and your ancestors, have brought into this country; it is a jewel above all price. It has made the Indian conscious that he is not a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water; that he is not a mere machine; that he has a mind which thinks, and a heart which

feels, and that his rulers are anxious to know the promptings of his mind, and to receive the out-pourings of his heart. In that consciousness lies his own strength as well as that of the ruling power. His loyalty to the British Crown is not an ignorant allegiance of the subject to the sovereign, an outward symbol of veneration of the weak for the strong, but an intelligent and satisfied acquiescence in the civilizing and elevating influence of the British sceptre. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, you have heard just now the Hon'ble gentleman opposite (Mr. Chapman) describe the Government of India to be a despotism, tempered by office-boxes with missing keys; but it has been rightly defined by another gentleman to be a despotism tempered by public opinion, and be it said to the credit of that Government, that the public opinion, which now exists among the people of this country, is its own creation. (Cheers.) These did not ask for that freedom of opinion, which they now prize so dearly, because they had never tasted it before; it was given unasked and unsolicited. And blessed are the rulers who make such precious gifts to their subjects of their own free will, and from their own sense of duty and responsibility, and happy the people who possess such magnanimous rulers! (Cheers.) Notwithstanding the new Press Act, I am confident that the glorious privilege of a free expression of opinion, which the British Government has conferred upon us, will not in reality be taken away. And I feel the more confident from the compliment you annually pay to the Native Press, at this your national banquet, that you, independent Englishmen, the custodians of British honor and

freedom in this far land, will not suffer it to be taken away. (Cheers.)

47. Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Kristodas Pal at the Calcutta Trades Association's Dinner, February, 1883.

Your Excellency, Master and Gentlemen,—I return with much pleasure to my annual task at your festive board. I offer you my sincere and cordial thanke for the honor you have done to the Native Press, and to my friend the proposer of the toast for the kind terms in which he has spoken of me. The past year marked a golden era in the annals of this country. The story of British ascendancy in India is a marvellous page in the world's history. The Englishman first came to the East as a trader, he then became a soldier, and now he is the ruler and statesman. The Muse signe glory to those who founded the British Empire in the East, to those who extended it, to those who consolidated it, to those who re-established it when it was about to slip away from the hands of the English owing to a dire military revolt; but I make bold to say that greater glory to those who are now seeking to base it on the willing allegiance and contentment of the people, to secure it on the rock of their interest, sympathy and co-operation, and to make it a part and parcel of their national existence. Patriot as I humbly profess to be, I confess I am not one of those who think that the mere nationslity of a sovereign irrespective of the attributes, which give him a claim to rule over fellowmen, ought to satisfy our patriotic aspirations. What the true patriot wants is that his country should be governed

in consonance with the sentiments, feelings and wishes of the people, with the universal principles of truth and justice, and with due regard to national amelioration, national progress, and national development, though the sovereign may be alien by birth, language, and religion. The sovereign, who identifies himself with the nation, is to my mind a national sovereign. And it is because the illustrious personage, under whose benign sway it is our privilege to live, seeks solace in the happiness and contentment of her Indian subjects and desires that her Government shall be a Government of peace and progress in conformity with national feelings and aspirations, and that no invidious distinction of race, colour or creed shall be made in the dispensation of the blessings of her rule, I ask my countrymen to look up to her as their national sovereign (cheers). Descended from a common Aryan stock, the English and the Indians form a grand brotherhood; but hitherto I must own with sorrow the brothers stood apart. Though under the same crown, hitherto the younger brother played the master over the elder, hitherto the relations between them were as between the conqueror and the conquered. Happily a better day has dawned upon us. Under the enlightened policy of this noble and noble-minded statesman (I speak with some diffidence in his august presence), who now represents the British Crown in India, measures are being matured for the extension of local self-government in this country upon a national basis, the elevation of the native to that high standard of political education which has secured the happiness of the British nation at home and its power abroad, and the reunion of the two branches of the Aryan

family in the resuscitation of Aryan civilization and Aryan glory. For a century and a quarter has England ruled India, but hitherto she sought to rule it by the sword, and not by striking a chord of sympathy in the national heart. She has conferred many blessings; she has educated order where there was chaos, given settled rule where there was anarchy, afforded security of person and property where there was insecurity, improved the course of justice, diffused education and advanced material improvement, but this is the first time she has come forward to teach the people of India the invaluable lessons of self-help and self-rule to take them into confidence in the administration of national affairs, and thus to give a truly national character to the Government of the country. This is the first time England is essaying to fulfil her mission in the East in the highest sense of that term. Blessed be the statesman who has given this happy turn to the administration of this country, and blessed be the gracious Sovereign under whose auspices this noble policy has taken birth! (Cheers).

Gentlemen, no people know it better than the British that a free nation cannot prosper without a free Press. India possesses under British rule the privileges of a free people; these privileges will doubtless expand as the Indians will advance in education, knowledge, and civilization; but how could they expect to attain to them if their mouth was gagged? Freedom of thought and expression is essential to freedom of political life. The nation, therefore, owes a debt of immense and endless gratitude to His Excellency the present Viceroy for knocking off last year the fetters

upon the national press. That event was of itself sufficient to enshrine his good and illustrious name in the grateful recollection of the people. But his Lordship has done more. His Lordship has declared that in the work of legislation the Press is a potent instrument of aid, and has therefore resolved to give every facility in the way of the Press for intelligent and effective criticism of legislative measures. Nothing could be more encouraging to the Native Press than the spirit in which this scheme was expounded the other day by the learned Law Member in the Legislative Chamber, whose thorough sympathy with the noble policy of his chief I do not hesitate to say is a matter of national congratulation. (Cheers.) Already that policy, I am glad to observe, is bearing fruit. The ranks of the Vernacular Press now count many well educated native gentlemen, graduates of the University, who are fully conscious of their duties and responsibilities, and the tone of the Press, with a few exceptions here and there has decidedly improved. There is now a growing and generous appreciation of the policy and measures of the Government. The conductors of the Vernacular Press, I may say with one voice, recognise that it is their function not to oppose but enlighten Government, not to thwart but to co-operate with it, not to weaken but to strengthen it,—in fact, to interpret the rulers to the ruled and the ruled to the rulers, in an honest, truthful, and kindly spirit, neither exaggerating nor setting down aught in malice. If the national Press be a true reflex of the national mind, what better proof of the loyalty of the people of India to the British Crown could there be than the ringing the terms of

respect, admiration, and gratitude in which the venerated name of the present Viceroy is echoed and re-echoed in the columns of the Native Press? Hear what His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor in his last Bengal Administration Report is pleased to say about the improvement which has taken place in the Vernacular Press. "There has been", remarks His Honor, "an improvement in its tone, its literary merits, and its value to the administration both as an educator of the people and a guide to the Government." And what is the cause of this improvement? It is simply this Confidence begets confidence, sympathy engenders sympathy. It is because the Government of the day trusts the people, they in their turn trust the Government; it is because the Government sympathises with them, they in their turn feel grateful to it; it is because the Government cherishes their just aspirations, they show a proper appreciation of its generous intentions; it is because the Government is following a national policy, the national heart is responding to it with joy and enthusiasm. I only hope that this golden era will fructify in that happy union of the East and West, which it is the mission of England to bring about. (Cheers.)

48. Extract from the congratulatory Address of the Indian Deputation to Mr. Gladstone on his attaining his 74th birthday, 31st January, 1884.

During the past year public attention has been much directed to the affairs of India. And we feel the more bound to raise our voice, however humble, to speak on

behalf of the millions of our fellow-countrymen, because our silence might be misconstrued, and those unfamiliar with India might not understand how heartily all classes of the Indian population appreciate the just and beneficent policy which has been attempted to be pursued towards them, in accordance with Her Most Gracious Majesty's declarations in the memorable Proclamation of 1858, a policy enunciated and emphasized repeatedly by various administrations—Conservative and Liberal alike—and which Her Imperial Majesty's Viceroy is so nobly striving to fulfil, thereby binding all classes and creeds in fervent attachment to Her Majesty's rule. The course adopted by Her Majesty's present representative to develop that policy at every fitting opportunity, has assured the people of India that the responsible ministers of the Crown are anxious to give effect to the letter as well as to the spirit of the assurance so graciously conveyed from time to time. Firmly trusting in the strength of the cause of justice, and in the sound judgment of the Government and the people of England they have been careful to refrain from reciprocating agitation lest that might render more onerous the task of the Viceroy, whose name is so dear to them and to every friend of the perpetuity of British rule in India. Guided by the same impulse, we feel this would not be a fitting occasion to express regret at the concessions that have been made to the violent opposition which was adopted in the absence of rational objections to measures based on that policy. This forbearance, we venture to believe, has not been fruitless. The confidence of the people has been, to some extent, vindicated by the public announcements made

from time to time by yourself and your colleagues, that the policy of Lord Ripon and some of his equally liberal-minded predecessors shall be fearlessly maintained. Knowing, as we do, the feelings of our countrymen in India, we beg to assure you, Sir, that such a policy of righteousness and generosity is a better guarantee than thousands of bayonets for the continuance of British rule, and that the confidence and hopefulness inspired in the hearts of the people of India by the assurance of its maintenance will form the strongest of all bulwarks against either external aggression or internal disorder from whatever class, color, or creed.

After Mr. Gladstone had returned a hearty reply, Mr. Cama, the Chairman of the Deputation, thus concluded :

Your graceful acknowledgment of the message we have conveyed to you on behalf of our countrymen, is another signal pledge that whatever difficulties may present themselves, India may safely rely on a due discharge at every fitting opportunity of the obligations graciously vouchsafed to her from the throne of England. A vast majority of her population confidently believe that the high sense of justice which all the world knows is instinctively in the people of England, and the wisdom of her politicians will prevail over all minor considerations; and they are loyally content to have their destiny, in common with the other subjects of the Crown in the hands of its responsible statesmen, of whom at the present day you, illustrious Sir, are so worthy a representative.

49. Extract from the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at the second session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1888.

The assemblage of such a Congress is an event of the utmost importance in Indian history. I ask whether in the most glorious days of Hindu rule, in the days of Rajahs like the great Vikram, you could imagine the possibility of a meeting of this kind, whether even Hindus of all different provinces of the kingdom could have collected and spoken as one nation. Coming down to the later Empire of our friends, the Mahomedans, who probably ruled over a larger territory at one time than any Hindu monarch, would it have been, even in the days of the great Akbar himself, possible for a meeting like this to assemble composed of all classes and communities, all speaking one language, and all having uniform and high aspirations of their own.

Well, then, what is it for which we are now met on this occasion? We have assembled to consider questions upon which depend our future, whether glorious or inglorious. It is our good fortune that we are under a rule which makes it possible for us to meet in this manner. (Cheers.) It is under the civilizing rule of the Queen and people of England that we meet here together, hindered by none, and are freely allowed to speak our minds without the least fear and without the least hesitation. Such a thing is possible under British rule and British rule only. (Loud cheers.) Then I put the question plainly: Is this Congress a nursery for sedition and rebellion against the British Government (cries of "no, no"); or, is it another stone in the

foundation of the stability of that Government? (Cries of "yes, yes".) There could be but one answer, and that you have already given, because we are thoroughly sensible of the numberless blessings conferred upon us, of which this very existence of this Congress is a proof in a nutshell. (Cheers.) Were it not for these blessings of British rule, I could not have come here, as I have done, without the least hesitation and without the least fear that my children might be robbed and killed in my absence; nor could you have come from every corner of the land, having performed within a few days journeys which in former days would have occupied as many months. (Cheers.) These simple facts bring home to all of us at once some of those great and numberless blessings which British rule has conferred upon us. But there remain even greater blessings for which we have to be grateful. It is to British rule that we owe the education we possess; the people of England were sincere in the declarations made more than half a century ago that India was a sacred charge entrusted to their care by Providence, and that they were bound to administer it for the good of India, to the glory of their own names, and the satisfaction of God. (Prolonged cheering.) When we have to acknowledge so many blessings as flowing from British rule—and I could descant on them for hours, because it would simply be recounting to you the history of the British Empire in India—is it possible that an assembly like this, every one of whose members is fully impressed with the knowledge of these blessings, could meet for any purpose inimical to that rule to which we owe so much? (Cheers.)

The thing is absurd. Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone (cheers); that we understand the benefits English rule has conferred upon us; that we thoroughly appreciate the education that has been given to us, the new light which has been poured upon us, turning us from darkness into light and teaching us the new lesson that kings are made for the people, not peoples for their kings; and this new lesson we have learned amidst the darkness of Asiatic despotism only by the light of free English civilization. (Loud cheers.) But the question is, do the Government believe us? Do they believe that we are really loyal to them; that we do truly appreciate and rely on British rule; that we veritably desire its permanent continuance; that our reason is satisfied and our sentimental feelings gratified as well as our self-interest? It would be a great gratification to us if we could see, in the inauguration of a great movement like this Congress, that what we do really mean and desire is thoroughly and truly so understood by our rulers. I have the good fortune to be able to place before you testimony, which cannot be questioned, from which you will see that some at least of the most distinguished of our rulers do believe that what we say is sincere; and that we do *not* want to subvert British rule; that our outspoken utterances are as much for their good as for our good. They do believe, as Lord Ripon said, that what is good for India is good for England. I will give you first the testimony as regards the educated classes, which was given 25 years ago by Sir Bartle Frere. He possessed an intimate knowledge of the people of this country, and with regard to the

educated portion of them, he gave this testimony. He said:

"And now wherever I go I find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able co-adjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the natives of India among the ranks of the educated natives."

This much at least is testimony to our sincerity, and strongly corroborates our assertion that we, the educated classes, have become the true interpreters and mediators between the masses of our countrymen and our rulers. I shall now place before you the declaration of the Government of India itself, that they have confidence in the loyalty of the whole people, and do appreciate the sentiments of the educated classes in particular. I will read their very words. They say in a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State (8th June, 1880):

"But the people of India accept British rule without any need for appeal to arms, because we keep the peace and do justice, because we have done and are doing much material good to the country and the people, and because there is not inside or outside India any power that can adequately occupy our place."

Then they distinctly understand that we do believe the British power to be the only power that can, under existing circumstances, really keep the peace and advance our future progress. This is testimony as to the feeling of the whole people. But of the educated classes, this despatch says:

"To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing

—any idea of the subversion of British power is abhorrent from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion.” (Loud cheers.)

We can, therefore, proceed with the utmost serenity and with every confidence that our rulers do understand us; that they do understand our motives and give credit to our expressions of loyalty, and we need not in the least care for any impeachment of disloyalty or any charge of harbouring wild ideas of subverting the British power that may be put forth by ignorant, irresponsible or ill-disposed individuals or cliques. (Loud cheers.) We can, therefore, quietly, calmly and, with entire confidence in our rulers, speak as freely as we please, but of course in that spirit of fairness and moderation which becomes wise and honest men, and in the tone which every gentleman, every reasonable being, would adopt when urging his rulers to make him some concession. (Hear, hear.) Now although, as I have said, the British Government have done much, very much for us, there is still a great deal more to be done if their noble work is to be fitly completed. They say this themselves; they show a desire to do what more may be required, and it is for us to ask for whatsoever, after due deliberation, we think that we ought to have. (Cheers.)

50. Extract from the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Mr. Badrudin Tyabji at the third session of the Indian National Congress, Madras, 1887.

Gentlemen, it has been urged as a slur upon our loyalty that this Congress is composed of what are called

the educated natives of India. Now, if by this it is intended to be conveyed that we are merely a crowd of people with nothing but our education to commend us, if it is intended to be conveyed that the gentry, the nobility, and the aristocracy of the land have kept aloof from us, I can only meet that assertion by the most direct and the most absolute denial. (Hear, hear and applause.).....But, Gentlemen, if no such insinuation is intended to be made, I should only say that I am happy to think that this Congress does consist of the educated natives of India. (Hear, Hear.)

Gentlemen, I, for one, am proud to be called not only educated but a "native" of this country. (Applause and hear, hear.) And, Gentlemen, I should like to know where among all the millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India are to be found more truly loyal, nay, more devoted friends of the British Empire than among these educated natives. (Loud and continued applause.) Gentlemen, to be a true and sincere friend of the British Government, it is necessary that one should be in a position to appreciate the great blessings which that Government has conferred upon us, and I should like to know who is in a better position to appreciate these blessings—the ignorant peasants or the educated natives? Who, for instance, will better appreciate the advantages of good roads, railways, telegraphs and post offices, schools, colleges and universities, hospitals, good laws and impartial courts of justice?—the educated natives or the ignorant peasants of this country? (Applause.) Gentlemen, if there ever were to arise—which God forbid—any great struggle between Russia and Great Britain for supremacy in this

country—who is more likely to judge better of the two Empires? (Hear, hear.) Again I say, Gentlemen, that in these matters it is the educated natives that are best qualified to judge, because it is we who know and are best able to appreciate, for instance, the blessings of the right of public meeting, the liberty of action and of speech, and high education which we enjoy under Great Britain, whereas probably under Russia we should have nothing but a haughty and despotic Government, whose chief glory would consist in vast military organization, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits. (Applause.)

No, Gentlemen, let our opponents say what they please; we the educated natives, by the mere force of our education, must be the best appreciators of the blessings of a civilized and enlightened Government and, therefore, in our own interests, the best and staunchest supporters of the British Government in India. (Applause.)

Happily, however, Gentlemen, this allegation is as absurd as it is unfounded. It is as unjust to us as it is unjust to the Government it impeaches. But though, Gentlemen, I maintain that the educated natives, as a class, are loyal to the backbone, (hear, hear) I must yet admit that some of our countrymen are not always guarded, not always cautious, in the language they employ. I must admit that some of them do sometimes afford openings for hostile criticisms, and I must say that I have myself observed in some of the Indian newspapers, and in the speeches of public speakers, sentiments and expressions which are calculated to lead on to the conclusion that they have not fully realised the

distinction between license and liberty; that they have not wholly grasped the lesson that freedom has its responsibilities no less than its privileges. (Hear, hear.) And, therefore, Gentlemen, I trust that not only during the debates of this Congress, but on all occasions, we shall ever bear in mind and ever impress upon our countrymen that, if we are to enjoy the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and liberty of the Press, we must so conduct ourselves as to demonstrate by our conduct, by our moderation, by the justness of our criticisms, that we fully deserve these—the greatest blessings which an enlightened Government can confer upon its subjects. (Hear, hear and applause.)

51. Extract from the Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji delivered at the North Islington Liberal Club, March 29, 1888.

The establishment of the National Council was a phenomenal event in India. About the time when the British Indian Empire was almost completed, the British rulers laid down the lines upon which they intended to carry on the government of the country. The question that was asked was, whether the English Government was to be like any of the despotic Asiatic governments, or constitutional, such as the British Government was. There was, however, no hesitation on the part of England, who decided at once that it should be government such as that of England itself, and the same rights and privileges as those of the English people were granted to India. A little more than half a century ago the educational seat and the political seat were

established, while the third great and important event was the establishment of a free press, a concession which the natives of India could not at first properly appreciate. The Indians had gradually learned what British Government was, and they had proved themselves apt pupils. It was nonsense to talk about disloyalty, because a few of the native prints were always speaking against British rule. By the extension of education there had been spread a common language throughout the whole nation. The native press not only discussed Indian but English politics, and, he ventured to think, as intellectually as the average journals there.

52. *Welcome address of the Bombay Municipal Corporation to H. R. H. Prince Albert Victor, November, 1889.*

May it Please Your Royal Highness,—We, the President and Members of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay welcome Your Royal Highness to India on the spot where, fourteen years since, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, your illustrious father, realising the dream of his life, set foot on this shore. On the occasion of that memorable visit, the recollection of which is yet vivid in Bombay, the Prince of Wales very graciously referred to the long association which had subsisted between the Royal Family of England and the City of Bombay. This association of historic importance has been strengthened by the presence amongst us successively of three of her Majesty's sons, to one of whom her Majesty has been graciously pleased to confide the care of the Bombay Army. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, with his consort her Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught, has now been for some time

domiciled in this presidency, and has gained a wide and deserved popularity. In the peaceful years which have elapsed since your Royal father was in our midst, this great commercial and manufacturing community has enjoyed continuons and signal prosperity. The foreign commerce of this port, which had then reached the large amount of forty-five millions sterling a year, has now reached the imposing total of ninety-five millions. The municipal revenues of Bombay, which at that time, amounted to thirty lakhs a year, have now, without a material enhancement of the burden of taxation, risen to fifty-four lakhs—an increase which has been accompanied by a corresponding advance in education, in sanitary measures, and in the material comfort of the citizens and people. Under the benign rule of her Majesty and Queen-Empress this city has largely profited by the tranquility and security enjoyed by all her subjects in this vast Empire. We venture to express the hope that other engagements in connection with your sojourn through India—which, we trust, will not prevent your Royal Highness from remaining amongst us for some days on your homeward journey before bidding farewell to India.

53. Address of Welcome to H. R. H. Prince Albert Victor by the Inhabitants of Lahore, 28th January, 1890.

May it Please Your Royal Highness,—As representatives of all classes, official and non-official, European and Native, of the community of this Frontier Province, we beg to offer Your Royal Highness a loyal and hearty welcome to its capital. Fourteen years have passed

since Lahore was visited by your illustrious father, and during this period the Punjab had made rapid strides of progress. By the completion of railway communication between Lahore and Karachi, the Province has obtained the natural outlet for its sea-borne trade, and the extension of the railway to Peshawar, the pacification of the turbulent tribes of the Khyber, and the improvement of communications along the Derajat Border have teaded materially to secure the North-Western Frontier of India against foreign aggression. Amongst peaceful pursuits, the advance made in education has been marked by the establishment of an independont Provincial University at Lahore. The tour plaaned by Your Royal Highness will afford an opportunity of sceiag the chief cities of the Punjab—Lahore, Delhi and Peshawar; while at the Military Camp-of-Exercise at Muridki will be found assembled several regiments of the army which is so largely recruited from the various warlike races of this Province. We trust that Your Royal Highness will bear away pleasant recollections of your visit. The Punjab cannot boast of possessing in its plains the beauties of natural scenery presented by other Provinces through which Your Royal Highness has lately passed. But it contributes to the Empiro a population noted for manly qualities, in the enjoyment of a high degree of agricultural prosperity, aad which while composed of many different tribes of various religions—Sikh, Hindu and Mahomedan—is united by the common boad of devoted loyalty and attachment to Her Most Gracious Majesty our beloved Queen Empress. We agaia offer your Royal Highaess a most hearty welcome.

54. Extract from the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji delivered at the Forrester's Hall, Clerkenwell Road, London, on 14th April, 1890.

Mr. Chairman, I am very glad indeed that you have made some allusions to the gratitude that the Indian people owe to some of the constituencies in London. I would name specially Deptford, Holborn, and Central Finsbury. (Cheers.) I can assure you that the practical and earnest interest which these constituencies have shown demand our gratitude, and we do feel it most sincerely. The position of affairs is this. England, or I would say the British Isles—the British and the Irish people—have a mission before them, the like of which has never fallen to the lot of any imperial nation in past times or any country in the world—to raise two hundred millions of fellow subjects to the rights of fellow-citizenship. That great privilege is now your blessed privilege, and we hope and believe that you will fulfil that mission with the same desire and the same earnestness with which you have helped struggling nationalities in other parts of the world. Not only have you declared this policy of righteousness and justice, but you have actually pledged yourselves in the most distinct and unmistakable terms before the world and in the name of God, declaring that you will treat the Indian people as equal to your own selves. Permit me to read those memorable words of the great Proclamation made to us for our future hope and assurance: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territory by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations by the blessing

of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." (Cheer.) This then is your great mission to raise, as it were, through the two hundred millions of India the whole human kind. This great mission you have not only declared as a matter of policy, but as a matter of duty, and you have prayed that God may help you in fulfilling that duty. Now, we are quite content to appeal to these higher motives, and to the results of modern civilization. But apart from that it so happens that when any good seed is sown, its fruit is always good. The good intentions that you have proclaimed to us will also have their good results.

55. Extract from the Presidential Address of Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta at the sixth session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1890.

It is, I repeat, the glory of the Congress that the educated and enlightened people of the country seek to repay the debt of gratitude, which they owe for the priceless boon of education, by pleading and pleading temperately for timely and provident statesmanship. (Cheers.) I have no fears but that the English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call. I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilizing principles of English culture and English civilization. It may be that, at times, the prospect may look dark and gloomy. Anglo-Indian opposition may look fierce and uncompromising. But my faith is large, even in Anglo-Indians. As in the whole universe, so in individuals, in communities, there is a perpetual conflict going on between the higher and lower passions and impulses of our nature. Perhaps some of you have read a little

novel, called Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, the plot of which hinges on the conflict between the two sides of a man's nature, the higher and the lower, embodied, each for the time being, in a separate and distinct individuality. If the lower tendencies are sometimes paramount in the Hydes of Anglo-Indian Society, if, as our last President Sir W. Wedderburn said, the interests of the services are antagonistic to and prevail over the interests of the Indian people, it is still the oscillation of the struggle: it is still only one side of the shield. They cannot permanently divest themselves of the higher and nobler nature which, in the end, must prevail and which has prevailed in so many honorable, distinguished and illustrious instances. They are after all a part and parcel of the great English nation, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, and they must even work along the main lines of that noble policy which Great Britain has deliberately adopted for the government of this country. When, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, India was assigned to the care of England, one can almost imagine that the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old:

'Behold I have placed before you a blessing and a curse; a blessing, if ye will obey the commandments of the Lord your God: a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God but go after other gods whom ye have not known'.

All the great forces of English life and society, moral, social, intellectual, political, are if slowly, yet steadily and irresistibly, declaring themselves for the choice which will make the connection of England and India a blessing to themselves and to the whole world

for countless generations. Our Congress asks but to serve as a modest handmaid to that movement, asks but to be allowed to show the pits and the falls, asks but to be allowed to join in the blessing which England will as surely earn as there is an "Eternal that maketh for righteousness." (Cheers.)

56. Extract from the Municipal Address of Welcome to H. E. the Viceroy on his arrival at Amritsar, November, 1891.

It cannot boast of any great antiquity, but it may take credit for being the cradle of the flower of the Sikh soldiery. Its rise as a modern city dates from its conquest in 1802 by the great Ranjeet Singh, the Maharaja of the Sikhs. Since the advent of the British in 1849 the progress of art, manufactures, and education has been most marked; while prosperity and peace under the strong arm of the British law have prevailed. For these and other blessings we desire to thank your Excellency's Government. We thank your Excellency for the wise educational policy of your Government, and we feel that you will be glad to hear that the people of Amritsar have not been backward in showing their appreciation of the benefits of that education which has been placed within their reach by the wise forethought of their rulers in educational matters. This district has been much benefited by the location in our midst of a band of labourers and unselfish English missionaries. The Mahomedans have established for themselves an excellent high school. The Hindoos have followed their example, and the Sikhs have in contemplation the establishment of a college to be called the "Khalsa" College, in which, in addition to the instruction in high

education, the principles of their religion will be taught and its moral truths inculcated. The care and comfort of the sick, and the promotion of sanitary measures have at all times specially claimed our attention.

57. Extract from the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Mr. R. M. Sayani at the twelfth session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, December, 1896.

I now pass on to the gracious Proclamations of the Queen in 1858—a Proclamation which is rightly held to be the Magna Charta of the Indian people. It will be observed that it is to secure the fulfilment of the solemn pledges of the Proclamation that the Congress is strenuously endeavouring.....This document is, as stated by Lord Ripon, a Declaration of principles of Government. It is the Magna Charta of British India. It was not the result of agitation or even of petition. It was granted by the free will and pleasure of the Sovereign, and truly displays the generosity of the Royal nature. It was given after the suppression of the Mutiny, and is a remarkable proof of the clemency of the British Crown. It is characteristic of the Noble Lady, the Mother of her Subjects, whose reign has been an epoch in the history of the world. Deep reliance on merciful Providence and true sincerity pervade the document. It is stated that this century, which is rapidly approaching its end, has been the humanitarian century *par excellence*, and has seen the end of many injustices and of many follies, that deserved to be wiped off the face of creation. But of all the mementoes of this humanitarian century,

so far as India is concerned, the Proclamation will stand the highest and will be cherished the deepest and the longest by a grateful people.

It will be observed from the above extracts, both from the opinions of the English statesmen and from the Proclamation, that the people of England, possessing, as they do, a genuine admiration for their own constitution, and jealous as they are for their own liberty, are not the people to view with disfavour the political aspirations of the people of India, aspirations forsooth, which the people of England themselves have deliberately inspired in the hearts of the people of India by purposely educating them in the English language, by disseminating amongst them English ideals of political life, and by encouraging them to raise themselves by education, intelligence and integrity, so as to become qualified to occupy positions of importance and trust in the service of the Government, as also to take part in the administration of the country. Under the circumstances those persons—and I regret to say some such do exist amongst my community—who imagine that the people of England are at heart against the people of India, are certainly doing a great injustice to the people of England. It may be that such wrong-headed persons may have been led into committing the mistake by the insular rigidity of England and the stiff-and-stand-off attitude of some Englishmen and their rough refusal at times to budge or bend an inch. But surely such persons should not be carried away by outward appearances or by false inferences derived from such outward appearances. If such people will go a little deeper into things, their minds will soon be disabused of these pure

delusions. In fact, a more honest or sturdy nation does not exist under the sun than this English nation; and there ought to be no doubt whatever as to the ultimate concession of our demands, founded, as such demands are, on reason and justice on the one hand, on the declared policy and the plighted word of the people of England on the other—provided always that the people of India are true to themselves. I repeat that there can be no doubt whatever as to these reasonable demands being ultimately conceded.

58. Extract from the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Mr. C. Sankaran Nair at the thirteenth session of the Indian National Congress, Amraoti, December, 1897.

We are well aware of the disordered state of this country when it passed, with its insecurity of person and property, under British Rule, of the enormous difficulties our rulers had to overcome in introducing orderly administration without any help from the then existing agencies. We recognise that the association of the people in the government of the country, except to a very limited extent, was then impossible. We also know that British rule cleared the way to progress and furnished us with the one element, English education, which was necessary to rouse us from the torpor of ages and bring about the religious, social, and political regeneration which the country stands so much in need of. We are also aware that with the decline of British supremacy, we shall have anarchy, war and ruin. The Mahomedans will try to recover their lost supremacy. The Hindu races and chiefs will fight amongst themselves. The lower castes who have come under the

vivifying influence of Western civilisation are scarcely likely to yield without a struggle to the dominion of the higher castes. And we have Russia and France waiting for their opportunities. The ignorant masses may possibly not recognize the gravity of the danger attendant on any decline of England's power in the East. But it is ridiculous to suggest that those who have received the benefit of English education are so short-sighted enough not to see and weigh that danger. While, however, full of gratitude for what Great Britain has done to India—for its Government which secures us from foreign aggression and ensures security of person and property—it should not be forgotten for a moment that the real link that binds us indissolubly to England is the hope, the well-founded hope and belief, that with England's help we shall, and, under her guidance alone, we can attain national unity and national freedom. The educational policy of the Government, a policy which combines beneficence with statesmanship, justified such hopes in us. Those hopes were confirmed by various pledges. Those pledges were followed by the creation of institutions by which we were admitted to a share in our ordinary Government which must surely, though slowly, lead to the full fruition of our ambitions.

Just look for a moment at the training we are receiving. From our earliest school-days the great English writers have been our classics, Englishmen have been our professors in Colleges. English history is taught in our schools. The books we generally read are English books, which describe in detail all the forms of English life, give us all the English types of character. Week after week, English newspapers,

journals and magazines pour into India for Indian readers. We, in fact, now live the life of the English. Even the English we write shows not only their turns of thought but also their forms of feeling and thinking. It is impossible under this training not to be penetrated with English ideas, not to acquire English conceptions of duty, of rights, of brotherhood. The study and practice of the law now pursued with such avidity by our people, by familiarising them with reverence for authority and with sentiments of resistance to what is not sanctioned by law, have also materially contributed to the growth of mental independence.

Imbued with these ideas and principles, we naturally desire to acquire the full rights and to share the responsibilities of British citizenship. We have learnt that in the acquisition of those rights and in the recognition of the principles on which they are based, lie the remedy for the evils affecting our country, evils similar to those from which England herself once suffered.....It is the hope that one day we may be admitted as equal sharers in this great inheritance, that we shall have all the civil rights associated with the English Government, that we shall be admitted as freely as Englishmen themselves to worship in this temple of freedom—it is this hope that keeps India and will keep her always attached to the British. This hope is sustained by pledges solemnly made; and the sentiment of loyalty to the British connection created by repeated declarations that we shall be gradually allowed the full rights of English citizenship is already in full force. Such a pledge was made in 1833 when Parliament solemnly declared that race or religion or colour

shall not be a disqualification for holding any appointment. This declaration of policy in a time of peace has been solemnly affirmed after the Mutiny. Already, the pledge has been in part redeemed. We have been admitted, as it were, into the outer precincts of the temple of freedom. The Press has been enfranchised. Partially elected members sit in our local and legislative councils. We can enter the Civil Service through the open door of competition. These blessings are no doubt now coupled with conditions which unfortunately detract from their rule. But these great and healthy principles have nurtured and consolidated a sentiment of affection. All that England has to do is to persist resolutely in the line of policy she has initiated and thereby deepen that feeling of loyalty which makes us proud of our connection with England. I myself feel that there is very little reason to fear that England will reverse the past.....Thus, the only condition requisite for the fruition of our political aspirations is the continuance of the British Rule. The fond hope that India may one day take her place in the confederacy of the free English-speaking nations of the world can be realised only under England's guidance with England's help. Years must elapse, it is true, before our expectations can be realised, before we get representative institutions on the models of those of the English-speaking communities. Slavery we had under our old rulers, Hindu and Mahomedan; we may again get it under any despotic European or Asiatic Government. But we know that real freedom is possible only under the Government of the English Nation, nurtured in liberty, hating every form of tyranny, and willing to

extend the blessings of representative Government to those capable of using it wisely in the interests of freedom and progress.

Great as is the necessity of British Rule for the political emancipation of our country, even greater is the necessity for social and religious reform. In the present circumstances of India, inhabited as it is by followers of various religions, various sects, classes, very often with antagonistic interest, any Government which is not strictly secular and absolutely impartial must be disastrous to the best interests of the country...
.....We want in brief to eliminate, if necessary, from our system all that stands in the way of progress. We desire to absorb and assimilate into our own what appears good to us in Western civilisation. This is impossible under a Government which would uphold a particular social system or a particular form of religion to the exclusion of others as some of the ancient Governments of India did. To break down the isolation of the Hindu religion, to remove the barriers which now prevent free social intercourse and unity of action, to extend the blessings of education to the lower classes, to improve the position of women to one of equality to men, we require the continuance of a strictly secular Government in thorough sympathy with liberal thought and progress.

59. Exrset from a leader in the "Bengalee," a leading Indian Paper, on "England's Greatness and India's Gain," July 8, 1900.

Those who have studied the history of India not only during the time immediately preceding the advent and growth of British Power in India, but also in

reference to the wider problems arising out of the social and economic arrangements of its historic past, handed down from generation to generation, must have been impressed, in the interest of India's future evolution, with the importance and necessity of the maintenance and growth of the political connexion that now subsists between England and India. Every school-boy knows that India's immediate past before the birth of the British Indian administration was marked by a period of political chaos, inter-racial jealousies, and all the evils of a dissolving political community. It is the tritest of maxims of political philosophy that no progress in civilisation is possible without a stable political order. If India was to make any the least progress at all, in any department of human activity, the iron heel of a despot grinding the warring elements of an all-but-savage society—a society that knew not how to live in peace and concord in spite of the blessings of its ancient civilisation—the iron heel of a despot was indeed necessary to weld the heterogeneous elements into even a temporary political obedience. The discipline of obedience is necessary for all political communities; but however law-abiding a people might be, the discipline of obedience is never learnt until and unless the different elements, the separate bodies, castes, and races that happen to live together in a common country learn to agree to a common Government and to place themselves under a common leader or body of leaders and render homage to the majesty of the law that emanates from the supreme political authority. The lessons of religion, of morality, of history, have been but ill-learnt when they have not been able to teach a people to agree to live together

in peace under a Government of their own making. Can it be said that the history of India, in the centuries immediately preceding the advent of British Power, taught a lesson of political morality such as is implied and understood by the fact of a people agreeing to live in union and under their own common Government? If a whole people, professing the Hindoo faith, and holding to a common language, a language of which they are all proud as a language from on high, the language of the gods, the sacred Sanskrit, if the Hindu People of the 18th century could but erect a tottering edifice of a political Confederacy which came down under the pressure of sectional jealousies and animosities, if all the ties of language, race and religion could but ill succeed in welding into a united political body, how could it be said that we have learnt the lesson of morality in the wide affairs of life? Looked at from this point of view, the Government of India by the British people has far-reaching consequences of a truly ethical value, and it may well be said that from the Indian point of view alone, the Government of India is a paramount ethical institution suited to the present necessities of the Indian peoples and races.

And going further back, back into the remote history of India, we can trace the origin of this spirit of political un-morality as we may term it (for political immorality would convey a wrong impression)—we can trace the origin of this unmorality to the spirit of *locality* among the people. If we confined our attention to only local units such as the village communities of ancient India we should be struck by the unanimity of views, the orderliness of conduct, the activity of

social and of moral life combined with internal pence and harmony such as have well earned for them the name of village corporations and brotherhoods. And yet in spite of all this harmony, all this amity, these village corporations have stood as isolated units among themselves, indifferent to each other's fates, and never able to weld themselves into larger units, for purposes of internal government or external defence. The spirit of co-operation among the people exhausted itself in efforts at village-organisations, and incapable of helping itself to wider efforts at political units, stood helpless before the tide of internal anarchy and external aggression. The spirit of *locality* accentuating itself through the centuries, the spirit of political unmorality, as we have termed it, has grown with the lapse of years, and habits have been growing truly antagonistic to the spirit of voluntary government. This it is that a centralised government like the British has a value for the Indian peoples which looked at from a social point of view, is quite on a par with any other forms of culture of which they may boast. Therefore again, the continuance and growth of the British connexion with India must not only be not despised, but must be valued and appreciated to a degree to which, in the hurry of passing events and amid the disappointments of political life, some of us may for the moment be not able to rise.

60. Extract from the Presidential Address of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee at the eighteenth session of the Indian National Congress, Ahmedabad, December, 1902.

In the constitutional struggle in which we are engaged, we need the co-operation of Englishmen and

the sympathies of civilized mankind. It is England which has created in us those political aspirations, the fruition of which we now claim. Our minds are steeped in the literature of the West. Our souls have been stirred by the great models of public virtue which the pages of English history so freely present. Where shall we find the like of them? Their sobriety, their moderation, their lofty enthusiasm for the public good, their scrupulous regard for constitutional principles, even amid the fervour and heat of revolutionary agitation, place them in the front-rank of political leaders for all times and all countries. Englishmen must accept the consequences of their own policy—they must cheerfully face the results which are the outcome of their own beneficent administration. They must gratify the ambitions which they have roused and adapt their administration to the altered conditions which are of their own creation. They have taught us the principle of adaptation to the environments of our situation, and they must not complain, if we, as their apt pupils, invite them to reduce to practice what they enforce by precept. We have no higher aspiration than that we should be admitted into the great confederacy of self-governing States, of which England is the august mother. We recognize that the journey towards the destined goal must necessarily be slow and that the blessed consummation can only be attained after prolonged preparation and laborious apprenticeship. But a beginning has to be made, and there seems to be no more suitable time for inaugurating this new departure, for commemorating the new epoch which is to mark the birth of an emancipated people than the commencement of the

new reign. The Victorian epoch, memorable in its achievements, is still more memorable in the generous impulse to human freedom which it communicated in all parts of the world. We shared in full measure the beneficent influences of that epoch. Our disabilities were removed, our rights were extended, higher ideals of Government were recognized and a loftier conception of Imperial duty enforced. A succession of illustrious Viceroys imparted an impetus to this beneficent movement. To the new sovereign, to whom on his Coronation we offer our respectful salutation, we appeal to commemorate his glorious reign by the still further expansion of those great traditions of government which have been consecrated by the example of his illustrious mother and which more than British arms have contributed to the solidarity of the British Empire. We have a special claim upon His Majesty's sympathetic consideration. The recollections of his Indian tour are to us a grateful memory. We know him. He knows us. His Majesty's feelings in relation to us are those of personal goodwill. Our feelings in relation to him are those of personal attachment and devotion, emphasized by the recollections of his general warmth, his truly kingly benignity, his royal condescension, his generous concern for all placed under his authority. The words of the Proclamation are still ringing in our ears, consecrated by the breath of his illustrious mother, our late Sovereign. We have His Majesty's assurance that he proposes to follow the traditions of his great mother, that the happiness of the Princes and the People of India would be to him matters of the highest concern, and that he would endeavour to promote the general

well-being of all classes of his Indian subjects, and thus merit their loyalty and affection. We appeal to His Majesty to enthrone himself in the hearts of his people and to lay broad and deep the foundations of his Empire, by the practical recognition of the claims of the people of India to a just and adequate representation in the government of their country, by the gradual extension to them of that system of Self-Government which has been the invariable accompaniment of British power and civilization and which, wherever it has been granted, has been the strongest bulwark of Imperial Rule and has evoked the affectionate gratitude of the people. Under the beneficent influences of Self-Government, alien races, hostile to the British connection, have been transformed into loyal and devoted subjects of the Crown. We need no such transformation. We are already sufficiently loyal, sufficiently attached to the British connection. But we are anxious for the permanence of British rule—for our permanent incorporation into the great confederacy of the British Empire.....We plead for the permanence of British rule in India. We plead for the gradual reconstruction of that ancient and venerated system, which has given to India law and order and the elements of stable peace. We plead for justice and liberty—for equal rights and enlarged privileges—for our participation in the citizenship of the Empire; and I am sure we do not plead in vain; for the Empire thus reconstituted and reorganised will be stronger, nobler, richer far, in the love, the gratitude, the enthusiastic devotion of a happy and contented people, rejoicing in their indissoluble union with England and glorying in the rich

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promise of steady and uninterrupted progress towards their high destinies, under the protection and guidance of that great people, to whom in the counsels of Providence has been assigned the high mission and the consecrated task of disseminating among the nations of the earth, the great, the priceless, the inestimable blessing of constitutional liberty.

61. An extract from the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale at the twenty-first session of the Indian National Congress, Benares, December, 1905.

Gentlemen, our first duty to-day is to offer our most loyal and dutiful welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of this their first visit to India. The Throne in England is above all parties—beyond all controversies. It is the permanent seat of the majesty, the honour and the beneficence of the British Empire. And in offering our homage to its illustrious occupants and their heirs and representatives, we not only perform a loyal duty, but also express the gratitude of our hearts for all that is noble and high-minded in England's connection with India. The late Queen-Empress, again, was known, within the limits of her constitutional position, to exercise during her reign her vast influence in favour of a policy of justice and sympathy towards the Indian people. We can never forget that the great Proclamation of 1858, on which we take our stand so largely in our constitutional struggle, was not only in spirit but also in substance her own declaration of the principles, on which India was to be governed. The present King-

Emperor has announced his resolve to walk in the footsteps of his mother, and we have no doubt that the Prince of Wales is animated by the same desire to see a policy of righteousness pursued towards India. We rejoice that His Royal Highness and his noble consort have come out amongst us to acquaint themselves personally with the ancient civilization of this country, and its present condition. The Congress earnestly and respectfully wishes Their Royal Highnesses a most successful tour through India, and it humbly trusts that the knowledge they will acquire and the recollections they will carry back with them will constitute a fresh bond of sympathy and attachment between the Royal Family in England and the Princes and Peoples of this country.

82. Address of Welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales by the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta on their arrival in the City, 31st December, 1905.

To His Royal Highness, George Frederick Ernest Albert, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, Duke of Cornwall and York, Duke of Rothesay, Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha and Duke of Saxony, Earl of Carrick and Inverness, Baron of Renfrew and Kilarney, Lord of the Isles and Great Steward of Scotland, K.G.G.C., T.I., &c., &c. and Her Royal Highness Mary Victoria Princess of Wales.

May it please Your Royal Highnesses.—We, the Chairman and Commissioners of the Corporation of Calcutta, on behalf of the inhabitants of this city, approach Your Royal Highness with a most respectful,

loyal, and heartfelt welcome on this occasion of the visit of Your Royal Highnesses to the metropolis of this great dependency of the British Crown, and to express to your Royal Highnesses, and through Your Royal Highnesses to our beloved King and Emperor, our allegiance and devotion to His Most Gracious Majesty's person and throne. This is the second occasion upon which the heir to the Throne has honoured India with his presence, and the universal rejoicing with which our present King-Emperor, then Prince of Wales, was greeted thirty years ago still lives in the hearts of the people of this city. The visit of Your Royal Highnesses, while strengthening and cementing the bonds of loyalty and attachment which have ever bound the people of India to their Sovereign, affords us an additional pledge of His Majesty the King-Emperor's abiding interest in the welfare and advancement of his Indian subjects. Calcutta is proud to be reckoned the second city in the British Empire, and Your Royal Highnesses will find here abundant indications of the prosperity which everything accompanies British rule. The continued moral and material progress, not only of Calcutta but of all India, as evidenced by the numerous works of public utility, the growth and development of trade, commerce, and industries and the spread of education, is a lasting testimony to the fostering care for the Indian people which is the guiding principle of His Majesty's rule. The present occasion is a source of special rejoicing as this is the first visit of a Princess of Wales to Calcutta, and we beg leave to offer for Her Royal Highness's gracious acceptance this jewel as a gift from the inhabitants of

this city. We trust that it may serve to remind Her Royal Highness of the real love and affection of the people of this city. We beg to subscribe ourselves with the highest respect. Your Royal Highnesses' most dutiful and most obedient servants.

63. The Calcutta Mahomedan Literary Society's Letter welcoming the Prince and Princess of Wales, 5th January, 1906.

To

Sir Walter Lawrence, K.C.I.E.,
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,—I am directed by the Committee of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, which comprises members of the Mahomedan Community from various parts of India to request the favour of your kindly laying before Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales a message of most cordial, sincere and loyal welcome in their visit to the Metropolis of the British Empires in India.

The feelings of unfeigned joy and pleasure of Mahomedans at this gracious advent of Their Royal Highnesses in their midst is intensified by the recollection of the fact, that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is also accompanied by his August Consort and they rejoice that they are enabled to enjoy the privilege of doing homage not only to their Heir to the Throns but also to that August Princess whom they all revere and adore as their future Queen and Empress.

More than a century and a half have not elapsed since India first saw the beginnings of British supremacy

and all these long and momentous years have become associated with a succession of brilliant achievements which stand unparalleled in the history of the world. While the triumphs of war of these early British heroes on many a hard fought field have proved to the world the sterling qualities of British valour and manhood, history records with admiration the nobler victories of a race of British statesmen whose single-minded devotion to duty, sense of Justice, and wise conciliation, have cemented the many creeds and castes of India into a loyal and contented nation. The India that is presented to the gaze of Their Royal Highnesses to-day is a unique Empire enshrined in the hearts of millions of people, an Empire broadbased on the will of a happy and contented nation and upheld no more by force of arms than by sentiments of gratitude and loyalty inspired by deeds of beneficence and justice tempered with mercy.

The triumphal progress of Their Royal Highnesses for the past month and a half has evoked sincere and loyal enthusiasm in the minds of His Majesty's Indian subjects and everywhere Their Royal Highnesses must have received abundant proofs of that devoted loyalty and fervent attachment to the Throne on the part of the people, which is at once the admiration and envy of all other nations in the civilized world.

Thirty years ago, when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's August Father, our Gracious King-Emperor, made his historic tour through India, the Mahomedan Literary Society approached His Majesty with a humble address of Welcome in which a reference was made to a reanimated sense of personal fealty to

the Royal Family, which had dawned over all classes of the people. It is with sincere pleasure that the Committee can now respectfully assure Their Royal Highnesses that this ever growing sense of "personal fealty" is at the present moment rendering Their Royal Highnesses as our future King and Queen, the centre of a world of devotion and allegiance, which is becoming intensified day by day.

However poor and inadequate the expression, the Committee respectfully beg Their Royal Highnesses to be graciously pleased to accept this humble tribute of sincere and lasting homage from the Mahomedan Community of Bengal and they earnestly implore the Almighty Disposer of Events to shower untold blessings on Their Royal Highnesses and Their Illustrious Family.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

(Sd) A. F. M. Abdur Rahman,

Honorary Secretary,

Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta.

64. Extract from the Address of Welcome to the Prince and Princess of Wales by the Municipal Commissioners of Quetta, March 12, 1906.

About thirty years ago, at a time almost coincident with the visit of the King-Emperor to India, the late Sir Robert Sandeman, whose memory is still cherished

by all the people of Beluchistan, entered Quetta to be the founder by peaceful means of a province exceeding in area that of the British Isles. Quetta then consisted of few mud hovels clustered round the Miri inside the fort, with no more than four thousand inhabitants. Soon the country was divided into districts; bloodshed and anarchy gave place to peace and security; the telegraph was extended, and railways were constructed through the Bolen and Hurnni passes. Quetta, which now comprises an area of 769 acres, has taken a leading part in the growth and prosperity of the remaining portion of the province. In 1891 the population had increased to nearly 19,000, and in 1901 had risen to 24,584. The Municipal Committee was constituted in 1896, and funds have been since continually devoted to the improvement of the town which, since the opening of the railway, has become a commercial centre of importance, trade converging on it from Kalat, Seistan, and Southern Afghanistan. Substantial houses have taken the place of mud huts, and the town possesses some fine public buildings, notably the Sandeman Memorial Hall and the recently erected library and museum.

85. Extract from the Presidential Address of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at the twenty-second session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, December, 1906.

What position do the Indians hold in the British Empire? Are they British citizens or not is my first question? I say we are British citizens and are entitled to and claim all British citizen's rights.....

The acknowledgment of this birthright was declared on the very first occasion when England obtained the very first territorial and sovereign possession in India. The British statesmen of the day at once acted upon the fundamental basis of the British constitution and character that any one who came howsoever and wheresoever, under the British flag, was a free British citizen "as if born and living in England.".....

This birthright to be "free" or to have freedom is our right from the very beginning of our connexion with England when we came under the British flag.

When Bombay was acquired as the very first territorial possession, the Government of the day in the very first grant of territorial rights to the East India Company declared thus:

"And it is declared that all persons being His Majesty's subjects inhabiting within the said Island and their children and their posterity born within the limits thereof shall be deemed free denizens and natural subjects 'as if living and born in England'."

And further all the terms of the first grant are extended in it to all future British territorial acquisitions. Thus is the claim of Indians to be "free" and to all the rights of British natural subjects "as if living and born in England" are distinctly acknowledged and declared from the very first political connection with England.

Thus the moment a people came under the British flag they are "free" and British "fellow-citizens". We Indians have been free British citizens as our birthright, "as if born and living in England" from the first moment we came under the British flag.

All honour and glory to the British instincts and principles and to the British statesmen of the 17th century. The Liberals of the present day and the Liberal Government have every right to be proud of those "old principles" and now that a happy and blessed revival of those sacred old principles has taken place, the present Government ought fairly to be expected to act upon those old principles, and to acknowledge and give effect to the birthright of Indians "as if living and born in England." England is bound to do this. Our British rights are beyond all question. Every British Indian subject has franchise in England as a matter of course, and even to become a Member of Parliament. Nobody in England dreams of objecting to it. Once in my case, from party motives, an objection was suggested to entering my name on the register as an elector, and the revising barrister at once brushed aside the objection, for that as an Indian, I was a British citizen.

86. An extract from H. H. the Aga Khan's article in the "National Review", February, 1907.

I cannot conceive an impartial student who knows about the facts of the past denying an actual and very material improvement. Personally, after years of study and perusal of various Persian books, reports, &c., of the Moghul period, I feel profoundly convinced of general and progressive increase of prosperity in India, even amongst the rural population. Nor am I alone in this conclusion; the great majority of English officials in India, whose knowledge of the economic position of

the masses is unrivalled, are of the same opinion. Many Indian publicists, some of whom like the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan were the children and in their youth the contemporaries of people who had known Moghul rule, have often proclaimed that the standard of living and all the general signs of prosperity have increased.

67. Bombay Municipal Corporation's Address of Welcome to Their Majesties the King & Queen, December 2, 1911.

To His Most Excellent and Imperial Majesty King George the V, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of Faith, Emperor of India, and to Her Excellent and Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress.

May it please Your Imperial Majesties.—We, the President and members of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay, crave leave, in the name and on behalf of all its inhabitants, to approach Your Imperial Majesties on Your landing on the shores of India with an expression of our deep-rooted loyalty and our pride and joy on this great and auspicious occasion.

The event is one unprecedented in the annals not merely of India but of the world-wide Empire over which Your Majesties hold sway. Never before have Rulers left the centre of the Empire to visit their dominions beyond the seas. We recognise the significance of your advent; we realise that Your determination to announce Your Coronation in person to Your Indian people is a proclamation to the world of the

great position which India holds in the Empire, and in the sympathies of the Royal House and a demonstration that the Crown is the living bond uniting many different races in varying climes under the flag which stands for ideals of justice, righteousness and progress.

We claim that our city has a peculiar title to the honour of being the first in India wherein the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress set their feet. The Dower of a Royal alliance, Bombay represents no chance settlement acquired by purchase from petty chiefs or selected by merchants fugitive from other centres. Its importance and future greatness were foreseen by the sagacity of statesmen, and its acquisition by a treaty of State constitutes the first intervention by the Royal Government of England in the administration of the land of India. We proudly claim that the high hopes entertained by the statesmen who acquired the Island and by the Governors who founded and administered the city have met with rich fulfilment, and that this City constitutes the strongest link between the civilizations of the East and West, which it has ever been the aim of the British Government to weld into one harmonious system.

We remember with joy that Your Majesties are no strangers in our midst. When you came among us six years ago, Your Majesties spared no pains to become acquainted with our people and problems, our arts and industries. We rejoice to think that since Your visit a steady advance has been made in the realisation of high civic ideals. The natural vicissitudes of a commercial and industrial centre have affected but not retarded a material progress which has gone hand in hand

with a lively desire to ameliorate the conditions under which our poorer citizens live, and to develop the natural advantages of the Island. We rejoice to think that Bombay is broad based upon the firmest of foundations in being united within itself and that the diverse races and classes whom we represent are actuated by a strong sense of common citizenship.

In the gracious presence of Your Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress, the people of India, regarding Your Imperial Majesty as the lofty embodiment of the highest ideal of womanhood, will recognise, with renewed feeling of gratitude and affection Your interest in them, as evinced by this second visit to their shores.

The advent of Your Imperial Majesties as a visible indication of Your assumption of the sovereignty of the Empire cannot fail to leave an indelible impression on the hearts of Your Indian subjects. It is our fervent prayer that the reign of Your Majesties, fortified by a knowledge of the Indian people, instinct with sympathy for them in their sorrows no less than in their joys and imbued with a love for them inherited from Your revered predecessors, the Queen-Empress Victoria and the King-Emperor Edward the Seventh, may be fraught with the richest blessings for all united under the Imperial Crown.

88. Extract from the Presidential Address of Pundit Bishan Narayan Dhar at the twenty-sixth session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, December, 1911.

Gentlemen, we have met to-day on a most auspicious occasion—the eve of the King's visit to this great city—which is likely to make this sitting of the Congress a most memorable one. While about to review

the present political situation, that visit brings most vividly before my mind, as I have no doubt it does before the minds of all of you, the countless blessings we enjoy under British rule—specially the last fifty years of our direct connection with the British Crown have been marked by great and lasting benefits to the Indian people.

Peace, order and perfect security of life and property have been secured to us to a degree never known to the old Roman Empire and even now not to be seen anywhere beyond the limits of the British Empire. A genuine and an active interest in the welfare of the masses, as is shown by its famine, plague, sanitation and agrarian measures, is its abiding and noblest feature. Perfect religious and social freedom it has given us unasked; and Railways, Telegraphs, Post Office and a thousand other instruments and appliances are the means by which it has added to our material comfort and social advancement. The educational system which has immortalised the names of Bentinck and Macaulay is perhaps its greatest gift to the people of India. The spread of English education, as it has instructed our minds and inspired us with new hopes and aspirations, has been accompanied by gradual and cautious concessions of political rights—the admission of Indians into the public service, the introduction of local self-government and the reform of the Legislative Councils on a partially representative basis. We have a government whose justice is exemplary and a civil service which in ability, integrity, zeal, and genuine regard, according to its own lights, for those entrusted to its care, has no rival in the world. When I think

of the dependencies ruled by other European powers—of Algeria and Tonquin under the French, of parts of Africa under the Germans—of the large negro populations in the United States, as the republican Americans treat and govern them—I thank God that I am a British subject, and feel no hesitation in saying that the government of India by England—faulty as it is in many respects and greatly as it needs to be reformed and renovated from top to bottom—is still the greatest gift of Providence to my race! for England is the only country that knows how to govern those who cannot govern themselves.

Gentlemen, this is a very rapid survey of the present political situation, as it strikes me, and I think it clearly shows that while the manifold blessings of British rule are undeniable, there are certain grievances which are equally undeniable and need redress. English education and a closer contact with the West have raised our intelligence and expanded our vision; the example of English enterprise has given us new ideals of citizenship and inspired us with new conceptions of national duties. A genuine craving for popular institutions is observable on all sides, and the whole country feels the vivifying touch of the spirit of nationalism, which lies at the bottom of what is called Indian unrest, and which in various forms and disguises pervades strife and inspires endeavour. And so the ideal of self-government within the empire has come to be cherished by some of the best men of our generation, and with the co-operation of Englishmen they hope to realise it one day. For we must bear this in mind, that the destinies of India and England are now linked together, and that in order

to succeed in our political struggles it is indispensable that the sympathies of the English people should be enlisted on our side.

I have faith in the just and righteous instincts of the English people, and I have faith in the high destinies of my own race. We were a great people once; we shall be a great people again. Patience, courage, self-sacrifice are needed on our part; and wisdom, foresight, sympathy and faith in their own traditions on the part of our rulers; and I firmly believe that both are beginning to realise their duty and that the day will come—be it soon or late—when this period of suffering and strife shall come to an end, and India on the stepping stones of her dead self, shall rise to higher stages of national existence.

59. Extract from the Calcutta University's Address to Their Majesties the King and Queen, January 5, 1912.

May it please your Majesties.

We, however, on the present auspicious occasion, may perhaps venture to claim that we represent not the University of Calcutta only, but the entire body of Indian Universities, and taking an even wider view of the situation, that entire, ever-increasing, section of the Indian people which has had a University education. In this widely representative capacity we humbly crave leave to give expression to a special feeling of gratitude. The inestimable advantages and blessings for which India is indebted to its connexion with Great Britain are of so manifold a nature that we cannot undertake even to touch on them as a whole: but there is one boon,

and this surely one of the greatest, to which the representatives of the Universities feel entitled, nay bound, to refer specially—we mean the access which the union of the two countries has given us to the priceless treasures of modern Western knowledge and culture, literature and science. We Indians no doubt look back with pride and reverence to what, in the days of old, our forefathers accomplished in the fields of thought and knowledge; but we at the same time fully realize that, in order to advance the greatness and happiness of our country and to re-conquer for it an honourable place among the great progressive nations of the world, we must, in the first place, strenuously endeavour to arm ourselves with all the knowledge, all the science, all the skill of the West. When, therefore, appearing before our Gracious King-Emperor who symbolizes to us in his own person as it were the happy union between Great Britain and India and all the blessings springing from it, we, the representatives of the Indian Universities, feel strongly urged to give expression to a feeling of deep gratitude—gratitude to Providence for the kind dispensation which has tied the fates of India to those of a western country so advanced and enlightened as Great Britain—gratitude to our Rulers who long ago initiated and ever since have adhered to a far-sighted and sympathetic policy of public instruction and education through the beneficent action of which the light of modern knowledge is gradually spreading through the whole length and breadth of the land. And with this expression of gratitude it behoves us to couple a further assurance. We humbly request permission to assure Your Gracious Majesties that the Indian Universities

which are the leaders in the great intellectual movement that at present is re-shaping India, are vividly conscious of the very weighty responsibilities which their place and function impose on them. They realize that it is their duty not only to promote and foster but also to guide and control the country's advance on the paths of enlightenment and knowledge, and to provide safeguards as far as it is in their power so that the enthusiasm which a sudden widening of the intellectual horizon is apt to engender in youthful minds may not tend to impair or weaken those great conservative forces without the constant silent action of which no nation can achieve true greatness and well-being—the forces of respect for order reverence for law and good custom loyalty to established authority. We venture to assure Your Gracious Majesties that the Indian Universities while ambitious to be leaders in a boundless intellectual advance, are no less anxious to act as centres of stability—moral, social and political; that they will ever view it as a supreme duty to strengthen the bonds which connect India with Great Britain and the Royal House; and they rejoice in the thought that it may be given to them to contribute their share towards the successful accomplishment under Providence, of that great task which the world-wide British Empire has taken upon itself for the good of Humanity.

70. Extract from the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohammed at the twenty-eighth session of the Indian National Congress, Karachi, December, 1913.

Gentlemen, fortunately for us our interests are placed by Providence under the fostering care of a

henevolent Monarch whose first concern is the happiness and well-being of his subjects. In reply to the address presented to His Imperial Majesty at Bombay, on the eve of his departure to England after the historical and ever-memorable Coronation Durbar at Delhi, our beloved Sovereign exhorted us, His subjects, in these words:—

‘We fervently trust that our visit may by God’s grace conduce to the general good of the people of this great continent. Their interests and well-being will always be as near and as dear to me as those of the millions of my subjects in other quarters of the globe. It is a matter of intense satisfaction to me to realise how all classes and creeds have joined together in the true-hearted welcome which has been so universally accorded to us. Is it not possible that the same unity and concord may for the future govern the daily relations of their private and public life? The attainment of this would indeed be to us a happy outcome of our visit to India. To you, the representatives of Bombay, who have greeted us so warmly on our arrival and departure, I deliver this our message of loving farewell to the Indian Empire.’

These are noble words and they have won our admiration and respect for His Majesty, and our hearts are filled with gratitude for such kindly sentiments. It is abundantly clear that His Majesty is fully conscious of the responsibilities of his exalted position and should therefore be rightly regarded as the “Shadow of God”, on earth. When we are the subjects of the same Sovereign, are living in the same country which is our home, are governed by the same laws, are desirous

of making progress in all walks of life and have the same aspirations, then, may I venture to ask what prevents us Muhammadans, Christians, Parsis, and Hindus of all classes from joining hands together for achieving the common object? It is my first belief that our united and joint action will prove more advantageous and beneficial to ourselves than making an advance by divisions. Whatever progress we have been able to make, and I may say we have made remarkable progress during the last thirty years, is largely due to the progressive tendency of our Government and their sympathy with the wants and aspirations of the people. And we look forward to the liberal instincts of our Government for granting to us from time to time concessions, which we may claim that we deserve. It is a matter of common knowledge that the British Government are always desirous of lifting up the people under their charge, and if we show that we deserve success by working on proper lines, "there is no height to which, under the ægis of the British Crown, we may not rise."

71. An extract from the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose at the twenty-ninth session of the Indian National Congress, Madras, December, 1914.

British rule in India has not come as a challenge to the Indian people. The first and greatest step in the acquisition of sovereignty was taken at the invitation of the people themselves, harassed under the enfeebled grasp of a decadent administration. There have been wars since, but between brave men who have

fought courageously, and have accepted the issue as between honourable combatants, our princes becoming the friends and allies of His Britannic Majesty under solemn treaties, and our people, equal subjects of His Majesty under Charters and Statutes equally solemn: and this mutual relationship and understanding, worthy of those who had the boldness to conceive and found the Empire, though sometimes apt to be forgotten under the passion of dominion or the prejudice of colour to the infinite detriment of both sides, has been on the whole the guiding principle of British rule in India, well recognised by British statesmen and well understood by the princes and people of India. It is this which has reconciled the Government of England to the martial spirit of India, to her ancient civilization and her pride of race. (Hear, hear.)

India has recognised that, at this supreme crisis in the life of the Empire, she should take a part worthy of herself and of the Empire in which she has no mean place. She is now unrolling her new horoscope, written in the blood of her sons, in the presence of the assembled nations of the Empire and claiming the fulfilment of her Destiny.

And, Brother-delegates, if India has been doing her part and her duty, the great statesmen who are now serving in her cause have also stood by her, faithful and loyal. I was in England when the first message of our Viceroy, tense with emotion and solemn as befitting the occasion, reached our King and the British people, conveying to them the whole-hearted devotion and enthusiastic loyalty and support of the Indian princes and the Indian people. I can hardly ex-

press to you the impression that message created: its dignity and simplicity went straight into every heart. All in a moment, England realised the unity and solidarity of the Empire, and the great part India had played and was determined to play. Those great principles of equality and justice, on which rest the foundations of British rule in India, became invested with the lineaments of life and reasserted their sway over people's minds and hearts.

72. Extract from the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha at the thirtieth session of the Indian National Congress, Bombay, December, 1915.

What, to begin with, should be the political ideal of India?.....It must be obvious to all sincere and impartial judges that no mandate whether of the Government or of the Congress, will be able to still the throbbing pain in the soul of awakening India, unless the ideal which is held up by the Congress and accepted by the Government commends itself first to the heart and then to the head. It seems to me, brother-delegates, that the only satisfactory form of self-government to which India aspires cannot be anything short of what President Lincoln so pithily described as "government of the people, for the people, and *by the people*." (Applause.)

When I say this, I do not for one moment imply that the British Government is not the best Government we have had for ages. We have only to look round to see the manifold blessings which have been brought to this country by that Government. But as

a British Premier early in this century very truly observed, "good government cannot be a substitute for self-government." (Applause.).....

The ideal, therefore, of self-government is one that is not based merely on emotion and sentiment, but on all the lessons of history.

I believe in all sincerity that such has been the ideal which the British Government itself has entertained and cherished almost from the commencement of British rule in India. Generations of statesmen have repeatedly laid down that policy, solemn declarations of successive sovereigns have graciously endorsed it, and Acts of Parliament have given it legislative sanction.....

It is, however, unfortunately the fact that a few years ago unhappy statements and even action of responsible statesmen gave rise to a widespread suspicion among large classes of people in all parts of India that there was a change of policy—a deliberate intention to retrace the steps.....

And to-day, millions of Englishmen are freely sacrificing their lives in order that others may be free: therefore, an Englishman will be the first person to realise and appreciate the great insistent desire in the heart of India.....For my part, I believe with the fervour of religious conviction that that wise and righteous policy is still the policy of the great English nation. When His Majesty sent us his gracious message of sympathy and later on of hope, what do you think he meant but sympathy for our political aspirations and hope for their ultimate fulfilment?.....

So far as we the people are concerned, there is no

real reason for mistrust, for this policy proclaimed so long ago and repeated so recently has been fruitful of innumerable beneficent results. Officials, even the highest, may sometimes have spoken or even acted in a different spirit, but England always did and does still consider it her glorious mission to raise this once great country from her fallen position to her ancient status among the nations of the earth, (applause and "hear, hear") and she enjoins every English official in India to consider himself a trustee bound to make over his charge to the rightful owner the moment the latter attains to years of discretion. (Applause.)

When we ourselves have so far advanced under the guidance and protection of England as to be able not only to manage our own domestic affairs, but to secure internal peace and prevent external aggression, I believe that it will be as much the interest as the duty of England to concede the fullest autonomy to India. Political wiseacres tell us that history does not record any precedent in which a foreign nation has, with its own hands, freed from bondage a people which it has itself conquered. I will not pause to point out, what has been pointed out so often, that India was never conquered in the literal sense of the word, and, as very properly observed by the late Sir John Seeley, India is not a possession of England in the sense of legally being a tributary to England any more than any of her colonies. I will not wait to examine the cases of French Canada and the Boer Republics in South Africa to whom free institutions have been granted. But has there been a situation before this in the history of mankind like that of India to-day? Has there been

a nation whose ideas of political morality have ever reached those of the great English nation? Has there been any other nation which has fought so continuously and strenuously for the freedom and liberty of other nations as the English? My faith is based not on emotion, not on unreasoning sentiment: it rests on the record of what has already been achieved by the undying labours of far-sighted English statesmen and noble-hearted Indian patriots, both those who are still working for the cause and those whose labours are done and whose spirits hover over us to-day and guide and inspire us. The East and West *have* met—not in vain. The invisible scribe who has been writing the most marvellous history that ever was written has not been idle. Those who have the discernment and inner vision to see will know that there is only one goal and there is only one path.

The regeneration and reconstruction of India can take place only under the guidance and control of England, and while we admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination. (Applause and "hear, hear.")

73. Mr. M. K. Gandhi's recruiting appeal to the people of Khalra, June, 1918.

When partnership in the Empire was India's definite goal it was clearly the duty of every Indian to suffer for the Empire, even to lay down his life for the defence of the Empire. If the Empire perishes, with it will perish our cherished aspirations. As long

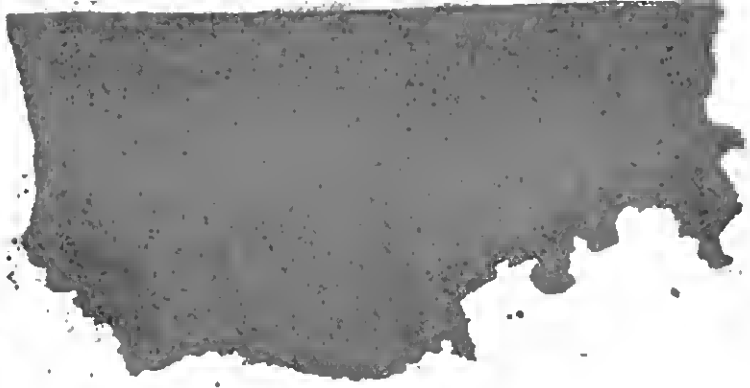
as Indians will have to look to Englishmen for their defence and cannot defend themselves, India will not be regarded as the equal partner of the Empire along with Englishmen. Indians must learn the use of arms and the easiest and straightest way therefore to win 'swarajya' is to participate in the defence of the Empire and if the war is won with the help of India's Army, it is obvious that the rights she wants cannot be denied. Some will say that if we do not secure those just now, we would be cheated of them afterwards. To distrust the statesmen of the Empire is to distrust our own strength. It is a sign of our own weakness. We should not depend for our rights on the goodness or the weakness of statesmen. We should depend on our fitness and our strength. If we want 'swarajya' it is our duty to help the Empire and we shall undoubtedly get the reward of this help. If our motive is honest, the Government will behave honestly with us.

PRINTED BY MR. J. C. SARKHEL
AT THE CALCUTTA ORIENTAL PRESS LTD.,
9, PANCHANAN GHOSE LANE, CALCUTTA.

AND

PUBLISHED BY
MESSRS. LONGMANS GREEN & CO., LTD.,
CALCUTTA.





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